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STATEMENT OF THE CLAIMS  
(Petition to the Government)  
OF THE  
PROVINCE  
OF  
MANITOBA  
AND THE  
NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES;  
TO THE  
CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF A PROVINCE  
UNDER THE  
BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT; 1867.

1885

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## INTRODUCTION.

The Manitoba and Northwest Farmers' Union, originated in a spontaneous awakening throughout the length and breadth of the country, from the lethargy under which the settlers existed until they had exhausted their capital, and after years of laborious work and economy they were unable to make ends meet in a country advertised throughout the universe as a land flowing with milk and honey, and it was natural that they should enquire into the causes that led to their misfortunes and which were gradually sinking the country into bankruptcy. Those who left their homes in old Canada were well conversant with the terms under which the Provinces were confederated and were generally well posted on the system of government in force in their respective Provinces, and it was only reasonable to expect that a provincial and municipal system of government which had worked well in the other Provinces of the Dominion would be adopted here so far as found applicable to the situation. But investigation led to a rude awakening, because it was found that the Province had been forced into a partnership unwillingly and depleted of its enormous resources; that every article used by the settler was taxed to an extent so excessive that the cost of living in Manitoba was more expensive than anywhere else on the face of the globe; that agricultural labor-saving machinery, without which it was impossible to farm in the Northwest to any extent, was taxed so heavily that profitable farming became next to impossible; that canned fruits and vegetables, which in this climate were amongst the essential necessities of life, were enormously taxed; that the lumber and building material required for the dwellings of the settlers were taxed beyond the reach of all but those who were possessed of considerable capital, although it was well known that no amount of protection could force Canadian lumber into Manitoba; that wearing apparel was also taxed to an onerous extent; in a word, that the people were taxed to death, besides which the expenses of the Government were wholly incompatible with the work performed for the country. The revenues of the

country had been exceptionally great and had been surrendered for a beggarly subsidy, which with the per capita allowance, was barely sufficient for the expenses of Government.

It is an acknowledged principle of civilized Governments that every taxpayer should be represented in the parliament of the people, but it was found that the justice of that great principle was ignored in Manitoba, because the majority of the people had no representation. At the time the Province entered confederation the representation was made tolerably adequate for the settlements as they then existed, but on the enlargement of the Province and in consequence of the great influx of immigration, the additional representation given was wholly inadequate and insufficient, the result being that the minority of the voters returned an overwhelming majority of representatives to the Legislature, showing that the representation was, and still is, manifestly unfair and unjust.

All good governments and well regulated states are careful to mark the various changes which necessarily take place, especially in a new country, and to make the requisite alterations in the laws in accordance with the requirements of the times, carefully amending the statutes as circumstances demand for the benefit of the people, but it was found that such considerations had no place in controlling the legislation of Manitoba.

Before settlers left their homes in the East they were given maps showing located branch railway lines in many directions, and when they arrived in Manitoba they were told that such lines would be built at an early date, and many hundreds of families selected their homes along the route of said located branch lines in full faith that all pledges would be carried out, but after years of patient toil in improving their farms, and after having reaped abundant crops and filled their granaries to overflowing, they found they had been duped; that the just reward of their labors had been denied them; that the promised branch lines had not been constructed, and that they were too far distant from the main line to market their products.

The Government of Manitoba had chartered several companies, who were willing to construct such branch lines, but the charters were vetoed by the Dominion Government, a course of procedure which was considered an act of tyranny and disastrous to the present and future prosperity and progress of Manitoba, and beyond the spirit of the Imperial Act under which we entered Confederation.

The land laws had also given general dissatisfaction, and the lands

appropriated for the purposes of education had been allowed to remain idle, producing no revenue, and the settlers had to shoulder the expense of school buildings and tuition.

A state of affairs so unfortunate led to the holding of meetings throughout the Province, the prevailing expression of which was that the country was drifting to ruin through the folly, obstinacy and injustice of the Federal Government and the vacillating conduct of the Provincial authorities.

## FIRST CONVENTION AT WINNIPEG.

### FORMATION OF THE FARMERS' UNION.

A convention of the farmers of Manitoba was held in Albert Hall in the city of Winnipeg on 19th and 20th December, 1883. Representatives were present from all sections of the Province, when a name and constitution were adopted and a Bill of Rights formulated.

### *BILL OF RIGHTS OF THE MANITOBA AND NORTH-WEST FARMERS' UNION.*

1. *The right of the Provincial Government to charter Railways anywhere in Manitoba free from interference.*
2. *The absolute control of the public lands of the Province (including School Lands) by the Legislature of Manitoba, and compensation for lands sold and disposed of for Federal purposes.*
3. *The removal of the duty on Agricultural Implements and building material, and the modification of the Customs Tariff on articles entering into daily consumption, in the interests of the people of Manitoba and the Northwest.*
4. *Representation in the Dominion Cabinets.*
6. *Recommendation that the Hudson's Bay Railway should be constructed as soon as practicable.*

The convention elected three Commissioners to proceed to Ottawa to place the claims of the people before the Federal authorities.

On Thursday, the 7th February, 1884, the said Commissioners presented the following memorial to a committee of the Privy Council, composed of the following members of the Government: The Right Honorable Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.B., Sir Alexander Campbell, Hon. D. A. McPherson and Hon. J. H. Pope:

## MEMORIAL

*To the Honorable, the Privy Council of the Dominion of Canada:*

The Memorial of the undersigned Commissioners, appointed by the Manitoba and Northwest Farmers' Union, humbly sheweth:

That the existing depression in agricultural and commercial industries in the Province of Manitoba and the Northwest has created a feeling of intense dissatisfaction and unrest amongst the inhabitants thereof. That the condition of affairs, if allowed to remain unsettled, will result in retarding immigration, and the growing discontent is disastrous to the prosperity and development of the country, commercially and otherwise. That in order to restore confidence and content amongst the people, and give the country a fair chance, it is imperative that the Dominion Government should immediately inaugurate a comprehensive measure of relief to remove the grievances complained of. That the Manitoba and Northwest Farmers' Union, composed of all classes of the inhabitants, regardless of party, has been formed for the purpose of intelligently discussing the requirements of the country and alleviating the present distress, and with this object in view meetings of the inhabitants have been held in various sections of the Province, and branch associations formed to support the objects of the Central or Provincial Union under the constitution adopted at a general convention held in the city of Winnipeg on the 19th and 20th of December, a copy of the proceedings and resolutions of which is attached hereto. That in accordance with said resolutions we are instructed to demand:

1. *"The right of the Local Government to Charter Railways anywhere in Manitoba, free from interference."*

It is not necessary to dilate upon the evil effects of the railway monopoly, which are notorious, and have produced the usual results of high rates and inadequate accommodation. Even as to strictly local railways it is now generally understood that it requires the assent of the Canadian Pacific Railway to get them built, and when the latter wants to appropriate any particular portion themselves, they immediately get it and crush out all interference. We submit that a comparison between the rates of the C. P. R. and other western roads is not a fair one, on account of the enormous public aid given to the C. P. R. The eastern section from Winnipeg to Port Arthur was handed over free, and the contract included compensation for early and unremunerative traffic. It has been stated by the Government that the Northwest will have to pay the whole cost of the railway out of its lands. On this theory the Northwest will have to pay double.

1st. Out of its lands for compensation for cheap rates.

2nd. Out of its people in the way of dear rates.

Vested rights apply to all new comers and old settlers, but especially

to the case of many of old residents of the country prior to the existence of the C. P. R. and who feel deeply aggrieved and demand redress. These considerations apply to the whole territory, but with greater force to old Manitoba, which had its provincial rights "not constitutionally under the control of the Federal Government," and therefore no disallowance should be made of any railway charters to operate within the old boundaries of the Province. When the convention was in session at the time of our appointment the unanimous opinion was expressed in regard to the right of Manitoba to charter railways, and we anticipated being met with a reply that our demands would raise the question of the vested rights of the Canadian Pacific Railway under their contract, and we were prepared to submit that the public interest imperatively demanded that some arrangement should be made with the company by which the obnoxious monopoly clause should be entirely obliterated from the contract. The present demands of the Canadian Pacific Railway when asking for enormous concessions afford the Government the opportunity of obtaining the modifications in the contract demanded by our resolutions and which would contribute so much to the welfare, development and prosperity of the whole country. The interests and future prosperity of the Northwest are bound up in low rates and adequate railway accommodations much more than in the completion of the transcontinental line, and the development of Manitoba and the Northwest would be much better served by leaving the eastern and western ends of the line incompleted under the contract, and entire freedom of railway facilities as enjoyed by the other provinces.

### CONTROL OF PUBLIC LANDS.

1. That we are also instructed to demand "*The absolute control of her public lands, including school lands, by the Legislature of the Province, and compensation for Lands sold and used for Federal purposes.*" On entering confederation Manitoba became entitled to the rights and privileges possessed by the other Provinces. The other Provinces entered the Union with heavy liabilities and retained their public lands, with the exception of Prince Edward Island, and in view of the peculiar circumstances of that Province a liberal subsidy was made to it. Manitoba alone entered confederation free from debt, and possessed actual resources in lands and other material wealth which the Province was not allowed to retain, but which should have entitled Manitoba to special and exceptional consideration. For lands already disposed of for Federal purposes, Manitoba is justly entitled to substantial compensation, based on a sum which capitalized would yield a much larger subsidy in lieu of lands than the Province has been allowed. To deny the Province the right of controlling the lands not disposed of would be in effect to state that the Provincial Government could not be trusted to administer the same. One of the causes of discontent in the Province is the manner in which the school lands have been administered.

The importance of having redress under this head is imperative. The necessities of education are very great in a new country, and are thoroughly recognized by the people of Manitoba and the Northwest, but the burden of which is severely felt by the settlers who are so heavily taxed for school purposes.

### AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

3. That we are also instructed to demand that "*The duty on Agricultural Implements and Building Material be removed, and the Customs Tariff on articles entering into daily consumption be greatly modified in the interests of the people of the Province and the Northwest.*"

We understand that the manufacturers of agricultural implements in Ontario say that they are prepared to furnish the same as cheap as they can be brought from the United States. Surely if this be so there is no need of such an oppressive duty as was levied last year. A large proportion of agricultural implements, namely, breaking plows and other plows, etc., especially adapted to prairie farming are not used in the other provinces, and since these have been, and still are, imported mainly from the United States, there is consequently an exceptional tariff against Manitoba and the North-West. The duty on lumber and building material is most oppressive, and one of the primary causes of intense dissatisfaction to intending settlers and leads them in many cases to select the United States as their future homes. Assuming that Ontario lumber can be forced by protection into Manitoba, which is doubtful, is it reasonable in the settlement of a new country to place such burdens upon the people. As none of the other provinces require to import lumber from the United States the imposition of the tariff under this head is exceptionally unjust and should be removed. Estimating the indirect customs and excise upon which duty has been paid in other provinces on goods consumed in Manitoba and the North-West it will be found to be nearly equal to the amount paid directly to the same source and in the aggregate to an amount much larger per capita than that paid by any other provinces. That having regard to the large increase of population from the yearly influx of immigration, frequent censuses should be taken upon which to base the per capita subsidy, the amount of which should be immediately increased, and on the enlargement of the province as contemplated to an additional sum in proportion to the population therein.

### REPRESENTATION IN THE CABINET.

4. That we are also instructed to demand "*The right of representation in the Dominion Cabinet.*"

A large proportion of the business of the Dominion Government is connected with Manitoba and the Northwest, and to a large extent the important departments of Railways, Public Works, Immigration, Agriculture and the Interior, and the province is consequently entitled to a representative in the cabinet.



## HUDSON'S BAY RAILWAY.

That we are also instructed to present the following resolution.

*"Resolved that this Convention is unanimously of the opinion that the Hudson's Bay Railway should be constructed as early as practicable."*

The natural outlet of products of Manitoba and the Northwest, placing them within the shortest possible distance of the European markets is by way of the Hudson's Bay which would raise the price of all products equal to that of the eastern markets and greatly enhance the value of our lands besides which the line would control the traffic of the north-western states and yield a large revenue and place the Dominion in the foremost rank in relation to the carrying trade of the continent.

The undertaking is, therefore, deserving of more liberal aid and encouragement than has been extended to any other railway enterprise, and taking into consideration the fact that it depends on the establishment of an ocean steamship line, we submit that the aid already granted is inadequate and insufficient; all of which is respectfully submitted.

GEORGE PURVIS,  
A. MUTCHMOR,  
JOSEPH MARTIN,

Commissioners from the Manitoba and Northwest Farmers' Union.

The Delegates then addressed the council in support of the resolutions, after which a general discussion ensued between the committee and the delegates.

Sir John Macdonald said that he would first take up the question of representation in the cabinet. In forming a cabinet the first minister's duty was to find men possessed of ability and capable in other respects to fill the position with credit to the country. Secondly, men who could bring the largest following. In the United States ministers were chosen indiscriminately without reference to the claims of any particular State. Respecting the Hudson's Bay Railway Co., he would remind the delegation that already very large concessions had been made to the amalgamated companies or double that given to any other road (except the C. P. R.) at the nominal price of 50 cents per acre. The Government were alive to the importance of it but it would take time to accomplish it and the country as yet did not need two exits for their products: when it did the Government would doubtless consider its necessities, but in view of the aid already promised any further concessions in favor of the route on the part of the Government could not be expected. Referring to the monopoly clause there was nothing to prevent branch lines being built to connect with the C. P. R. even parallel lines to the C. P. R. might be built. There could

be no objection to any lines in the country being built provided that they did not interfere with the trade of the C. P. R. which the Government were bound in honor to protect and to see that the trade of the country was not carried to the south connecting with American system. The Minister of Railways had stated in his place in the House that as soon as the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed from ocean to ocean that the company would no longer seek to enforce the monopoly clause. As soon as the road was put on a paying footing the Government would see that excessive rates were not imposed. Hitherto the Government felt that it would be a hardship to the company to insist on low freight rates. The Government could not reasonably be expected to make an exceptional tariff for Manitoba.

The Premier in conclusion said that the whole matter would be submitted to the Governor in Council, and while complimenting the delegates for the able manner in which they presented the case of the province, stated that it was quite clear the movement was not a party one.

The commissioners again replied, followed by Mr. Watson, M. P. who seemed to think that the Government did not fully appreciate the importance and standing of the delegates. He warned the Government that great changes had taken place in the political aspect of Manitoba since the general election and that the delegates were the true representatives of the public feeling in Manitoba to-day.

The commissioners then pointed out that the premier had not fully taken up all the resolutions submitted, but he declined to go into the other matters contained in the memorial.

When questioned as to the lands, he said he must repeat that the whole subject would be submitted to the Governor in Council. The Commissioners then urged him to give a written reply to the Memorial, but he refused to do so, and said their reply would be the action taken by the Government in Parliament.

Mr. Purvis also submitted the following in reference to the grain trade and public lands.

#### GRADING GRAIN

Much discontent has arisen in Manitoba owing to the absence of any system for the grading of grain, and great imposition has been practiced by the buyers in consequence. A severe frost

in September last year seriously damaged some of the wheat, and the dealers took the opportunity to swindle the farmers by asserting that almost every sample of grain offered for sale was frozen, and to depreciate the value of the whole crop. The grain buyers of Manitoba, have taken advantage of an exceptional season to impose on the unfortunate farmers, but the Government can provide an easy remedy and prevent the recurrence of such a state of things in the future. In the United States grain inspectors are appointed by the Government, whose independent inspection gives universal satisfaction. Were such inspectors appointed at the principal points, say Port Arthur, Emerson, Gretna, Manitou, Morden, Winnipeg, Portage la Prairie, Carberry, Minnedosa, Brandon, Virden, Rapid City and other principal grain centers, there would be no further uncertainty as to quality, and the farmer would receive the full value for his grain. Such an arrangement would be a solution of one great cause of discontent, and promote harmony between the seller and buyer, and tend to relieve from uncertainty the Eastern receiver, who would have type samples from the several inspectors each season, and there could be no mistake as to the quality of the crop in the different sections of the Province and the Northwest. This idea is no mere theory, but is based on the practice pursued in other countries.

### LANDS.

Estimating the value of lands within the boundary of the Province and Northwest at a low price and placing the 12,500 acres per mile granted to the railway to the credit of the province and Northwest along with the other receipts as shown by the public accounts and charging against the same all actual disbursements, also the entire cost of the 900 miles, being the central section of the C. P. Railway, also a fair proportion of the line to Port Arthur and the other portions of the road which may be correctly termed of a national character, there would be found a very large balance to the credit of Manitoba and the Northwest, the interest upon which would provide an ample sum to meet all requirements. A generous policy on the part of the Government in this respect would do much to settle present difficulties.

### SCHOOL LANDS.

Computing the area of school lands and estimating the value of same at even below what they could now be sold for, the interest upon the ag-

gregate amount would be enough for all school purposes, but should the Government not elect to sell now, the lands might be held and a sufficient sum advanced by the Government as a loan to be used exclusively for school purposes. Such an arrangement would at once remove one of the great causes of dissatisfaction as in many districts the school tax presses heavily on the pockets of the people where new schools have, of necessity, to be built, and when unsold school sections are lying waste ~~which ought to be sold and settled on and taxed as other property~~, some course should be taken to realize something on such lands for the immediate benefit of the settlements.

Sir John Macdonald stated that the suggestions of Mr Purvis would receive the consideration of the Government.

### A LAST APPEAL.

Before the Commissioners left Ottawa they sent the following letter to Sir John Macdonald, but failed to get any reply.

*To the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K. C. B.:*

SIR.—We have the honor to inform you that we have with much care considered the verbal answers of the sub-committee of the Privy Council to our memorial, and we feel constrained to state it is not of that satisfactory nature which the importance of our mission demands.

It would be a dereliction of duty on our part if we did not again warn your Government of the critical situation of affairs in Manitoba and the Northwest, because we believe that unless remedial measures of relief are at once provided serious results will be inevitable. Our anxiety to restore confidence and promote the peace and prosperity of the country impels us to again urge a further consideration of our memorial. The imperative nature of our instructions, and the fact that we are merely delegates, and must report to the Manitoba and Northwest Farmers' Union the result of our interview, compels us to again respectfully request a written reply to the demands of our convention.

In our interview with the sub-committee of the Privy Council on Thursday last, you were kind enough, in answer to a question put by us to suggest that we should reduce the request to writing.

We therefore would respectfully ask whether the Government would consent to grant a charter to a railway running say from Emerson to Portage la Prairie or Brandon? We also take this opportunity of urging still more strongly upon the Government the great importance to Manitoba and the Northwest of obtaining an entire release from the Canadian Pacific Railway Company of the monopoly clause. It is admitted by all that the contract does not prevent the building of railways within the limits of old Manitoba. Heretofore the disallowance of the charters granted by the Manitoba Legislature has had the effect of fastening the

monopoly upon the whole Northwest. It has been stated by the Honorable the Minister of Railways that as soon as the Canadian Pacific Railway is completed, which is to be within two years, that the Government would cease to support the monopoly. As it would take nearly two years for any railway chartered now to reach completion, and make any connection which might act as a competitor of the Canadian Pacific Railway, we would urge that instead of waiting for two years to relieve the Northwest from monopoly, it should be done at once, and thus do much to raise the spirits of the settlers. If by arrangement with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, conditional upon the giving of the proposed loan, the entire monopoly clause could be swept away, a boon of the first magnitude would be conferred upon Northwest, and according to the admissions of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, no harm could be done to them, since they claim they will be in a position to defy competition when their line is complete.

We have etc.,

JOS. MARTIN,  
A. MUTCHMOR,  
GEO. PURVIS,

Ottawa, Feb. 8, 1884.

Commissioners, etc.

## SECOND CONVENTION AT WINNIPEG.

A Convention of the Farmers' Union met in Victoria Hall in the city of Winnipeg on 5th of March, 1884, to receive the report of the Commissioners to Ottawa.

Delegates were present from the Board of Trade of Winnipeg and the Manitoba Rights League also from the towns of Brandon, Portage la Prairie, Rapid City, Gladstone and other other places, and over two hundred delegates from the branches of the Union.

Messrs. Martin and Purvis presented a verbal report of their mission.

The report on motion was accepted, and the Convention tendered to the Commissioners, a unanimous vote of thanks for the ability and tact they had shown in presenting the case of the Union to the Ottawa Government.

The Bill of Rights was on motion reaffirmed.

Resolutions were adapted as follows:

*Whereas* the convention of the 19th, and 20th December, 1883, did appoint and empower three Commissioners to present the views and requests of that Convention to the Federal Cabinet at Ottawa.

*And Whereas* the said Commissioners did well and fully discharge the duties to which they were appointed.

*And Whereas* the report of the said Commissioners having been made to the Convention shows that the Federal Government refused to

promise recognition of the claims of Manitoba as shown in the foregoing Bill of Rights:

*And Whereas* the grievances of the people and province of Manitoba still exist in full force and the rights of the citizens and Legislature of Manitoba are still withheld.

*And Whereas* the situation is one so injurious to the interests of the people of Manitoba and so destructive to their freedom that action for redress is imperatively necessary.

*And Whereas* it is desirable that the Provincial Government should represent the whole case of Manitoba and lead in any movement to secure complete redress of grievances.

*Therefore* be it resolved that the Premier of Manitoba be requested to inform this Convention what he and his Cabinet propose doing to secure complete redress of the grievances hereinbefore mentioned.

A committee was appointed to wait upon Hon. Mr. Norquay and reported as follows:

That your committee having had an interview with the members of the Provincial Government, are of the opinion that Premier Norquay is in full accord with the Farmers' Union Bill of Rights but would recommend that the Union should await the action of the Legislature soon to assemble before pledging their support to the present Government.

The report was adopted.

Resolutions were adopted recommending the extension of the Provincial boundaries, amendments to the land laws, etc., and after the usual votes of thanks the Convention adjourned.

## THE ACTION TAKEN BY THE MANITOBA LEGISLATURE.

On the 19th March, 1884, the Legislature of Manitoba unanimously adopted the following resolutions (*inter alia*):

*"And Whereas* among the rights claimed by the people of Manitoba before they consented to become confederated, a demand was made that the public lands of the Province should be vested in its Legislature and administered for the uses of the Province;

*And Whereas* it is claimed that the Province has a just and equitable claim thereto;

*And Whereas* repeated representations have since been made to the Government of Canada praying that the management and sale of the public lands be vested in the Legislature for the uses of the Province.

*And Whereas* it is further deemed in the interests of the Dominion that all the Provinces of Canada should possess equal jurisdiction in all matters of a local nature;

*And Whereas* a continuance of the discriminating policy pursued towards Manitoba is calculated to undermine the feeling of common interest that this Province should have in building up the Dominion;

*And Whereas* no answer satisfactory to the Legislature of this

Province has been received in reply to the demands as above mentioned, and in the opinion of this House the rights of the people of the Province to obtain redress in many matters of a local nature, which are extended to the people of the other Provinces of *Canada* are denied to the people of *Manitoba*, and the resources derivable from the sale of land in *Manitoba* are appropriated by the Dominion, which in other Provinces of the Union are administered by their several Legislatures, and the revenues arising therefrom inure to the several Provinces respectively ;

*And Whereas* this Legislature views with alarm the alienation from the Crown of the public domain without provision being made for the future necessities of government in this Province, which will be in the near future obliged to resort to direct taxation to support its institutions and prosecute improvements necessary to the building up thereof, which state of affairs in the other Provinces was obviated largely by the revenues arising from the Crown Lands and by the liberal provisions made for them on entering the Union ;

Be it therefore *Resolved*, that an humble address be passed by this House, praying His Excellency the Governor-General to cause such enquiry to be made into the relations of this Province with the Dominion, and such action to be taken in reference thereto as will place this Province in as favorable a position as regards her future necessities as are the four Provinces confederated under the *British North America Act*.

And be it further *Resolved*, that a memorandum of the case be prepared and submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with an humble request that the *Manitoba Act* may be so amended as to place this Province of *Manitoba* on the same status in the Dominion as the other Provinces of the Union."

The following resolutions were also adopted :

It was moved by the Hon. Mr. *Norquay*, seconded by the Hon. Mr. *LaRiviere*,

*That whereas*, under the provisions of the *British North America* and subsequent Acts of the Parliament of *Canada*, the Provinces of *Ontario* and *Quebec* were relieved of debt amounting to \$73,000,088.84 ; the Province of *Nova Scotia*, \$10,531,536 the Province of *New Brunswick*, \$8,176,680 ;

*And whereas* these debts were incurred by the several Provinces in improvements of a local character, necessary to them respectively ;

*And whereas* they severally enjoyed the advantages of these improvements, the cost of which was thereby made a free gift to them respectively by the Dominion ;

*And whereas* the allowance to each was made on their respective populations. That of *Ontario* on a population of 1,396,091 ; that of *Quebec* on a population of 1,111,566 ; that of *Nova Scotia* on a population of 387,800 ; that of *New Brunswick* on a population of 285,594 ;

*And whereas* *Manitoba* on entering the Union received from *Canada*,

as an off-set to what was allowed the four mentioned Provinces, \$551,447, her population being only reckoned at 17,000 souls ;

*And whereas* it is only fair and just that she should receive consideration as her population increases, inasmuch as the responsibility of making local improvements and building up her institutions, such as jails, court houses, reformatories, asylums, roads, etc., devolves upon her Legislature ;

*And whereas* settlement has proceeded with unusual rapidity, thereby creating necessities beyond the reach of her resources ;

*And whereas* the fact of the inadequacy of her revenue has been admitted by the Dominion to the extent that increases have been made from time to time ;

*And whereas* no settled basis has been provided under which the Province can reckon on a self-adjusting increase in proportion to her population other than that of 80 cents a head, which is entirely inadequate to meet her growing requirements ;

*And whereas* it is in the interest of the Province that she should not be subjected to the humiliation of depending upon the intermittent increases from time to time made to her, but that she should be placed in a position by which her future might be assured ;

*And whereas*, in the opinion of this House, the credit allowed the Province corresponding to the relief afforded the other Provinces should be adjusted from time to time, and that she should be paid at the rate of five per centum per annum on the amount of credit that she would be entitled on her population as ascertained by each decennial census or by such other computation as may be agreed upon ;

Be it therefore *Resolved*, that an humble Address be passed by this House, praying His Excellency the Governor-General to cause such enquiries to be made into the financial relations of this Province with the Dominion, and to cause such action to be taken as will insure to the Province such revenue as will correspond to her growing necessities.

And the question being put,

It was unanimously *Resolved* in the affirmative.

APRIL 22ND, 1884.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. *Norquay*, seconded by the Hon. Mr. *LaRiviere*,

*Resolved*, That this House do immediately resolve itself into a Committee to consider a certain proposed Resolution respecting the control of the Public Lands of this Province and a re-adjustment of her Capital Account and Financial Status, and the appointment of a delegation of this House to proceed at once to *Ottawa* to arrange and procure a settlement of the Rights of this Province.

The House accordingly resolved itself into the said Committee,

IN THE COMMITTEE.

*Resolved*, That this House having had under consideration the despatch of the Secretary of State for the Dominion of *Canada* to His



Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of *Manitoba*, of the date of the second of April, instant, regrets that the Federal Government have not seen their way clear to acknowledge the right of this Province to the control of her Public Lands, and to place her on the same status as the originally Confederated Provinces. In addition to her just claims, it is absolutely necessary for the requirements of this Province that a re-adjustment of her Capital Account and Financial Status should at once be made ;

And that a delegation of this House, composed of the Hon. Mr. Speaker and such Members of this House as are members of the Executive Council that His Honor may appoint, do at once proceed to *Ottawa*, to meet the Committee as suggested in the said despatch of the second of April, to procure from the Government of *Canada* a settlement of the Rights of this Province as claimed by its Legislature.

Resolution to be reported.

Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair, and Mr. *Bell* reported that the Committee had come to a Resolution.

*Ordered*, That the Report be now received.

The said Resolution being read a second time was agreed to.

On motion of Hon. Mr. *Norquay*, seconded by Hon. Mr. *LaRiviere*.

*Resolved*, That the following instructions be given by this House to the delegates appointed to confer with the Committee of the Privy Council at *Ottawa* :

(1.) To urge the right of the Province to the control, management and sale of the Public Lands within the limits for the public uses thereof, and of the mines, minerals, wood and timber thereon, or an equivalent therefor, and to receive from the Dominion Government payment for the lands already disposed of by them within the Province, less cost of surveys and management.

(2.) The management of the lands set apart for education in this Province with a view to capitalize the sums realized from sales, and apply the interest accruing therefrom, to supplement the annual grant of the Legislature in aid of education.

(3.) The adjustment of the capital account of the Province decimally according to population of the same to be computed now as (150,000) one hundred and fifty thousand souls, and to be allowed until it corresponds to the amount allowed the Province of *Ontario* on that account.

(4.) The Right of the Province to charter lines of railway from any one point to another within the Province, except so far as the same has been limited by its Legislature in the Extension Act of 1881.

(5.) That the grant of 80 cents a head be not limited to a population of four hundred thousand souls (400,000), but that the same be allowed the Province until the maximum on which the said grant is allowed the Province of *Ontario* be reached.

(6.) The policy to the Province extended railway facilities,

notably the energetic prosecution of the *Manitoba* Southwestern, the *Souris* and *Rocky Mountain*; and the *Manitoba* and Northwestern Railways.

(7.) To call the attention of the Government to the prejudicial effect of the Tariff on the Province of *Manitoba*.

(8.) Extension of boundaries.

On the 29th April the House adjourned until the 26th May.

On the 27th May, the Hon Mr. *Norquay* submitted the Report of the Select Committee appointed to proceed to Ottawa.

### THE OPERATION OF THE TARIFF.

On the 28th May, the Committee appointed to enquire into the operation of the Tariff reported as follows :

Your Committee, in submitting this, their Final Report, beg to state that they have held seven meetings, and received the evidence of the most prominent business men respecting the several branches of trade coming within the scope of their enquiry. Taking a conjunct view of the information they have obtained, your Committee would respectfully submit the following as their Report on the subject submitted to them by this House for their investigation :

1. In *Manitoba*, not yet able to produce the necessaries of life, the effect of the present Tariff on articles absolutely necessary for settlers bears very heavily upon our people as compared with those who have settled in the older Provinces of the Dominion. This fact is plainly shown by statements hereto annexed, compiled from Official Trade Returns of the Dominion. By reference to these returns it will be seen that the Province of *Manitoba* has paid more duty than all the other Provinces put together, on the following articles :

(1.) Agricultural Implements, for example, Mowing, Reaping and Threshing Machines, Ploughs, etc.

(2.) Animals and Flesh Meats, including Bacon, Ham, Beef, Pork and Canned Meats ; and

(3.) Timber, Lumber and Manufactures of Wood.

Out of a total of \$1,073,217, this Province paid \$539,747, or two and one-third times more than *Ontario*, four and one-third times more than *Quebec*, ten times more than *British Columbia*, eleven times more than *New Brunswick*, thirteen times more than the Northwest Territory, fifteen times more than *Nova Scotia*, and two hundred and eighty times more than *Prince Edward Island*. If the amount of duty per head of population be computed, it will be seen from Statement No. 3 that *Manitoba* is very heavily handicapped. Taking the total population, the duty per head is \$8.18, while the other Provinces average only 32 cents, and if the total occupiers of land be taken, the difference as against *Manitoba* will be very much greater, *Manitoba* farmers paying \$60 per head, while those of the other Provinces average \$9.02, and if *British Columbia* and the Northwest Territory are excluded, the average

per head will be brought down to 83 cents for the older Provinces. These figures show most conclusively that the effect of the present Tariff on these necessary articles has been against settlers coming into this new country.

## THE LEGISLATURE REFUSES TO ACCEPT THE COMPROMISE OFFERED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

The Dominion Government having refused to accede to the claims of the Province, on the the 2nd June, 1884, the following report (*inter alia*) was adopted by the Legislature.

"Whereas this House, having fully considered the proposition of the Federal Government in answer to the representations of the Delegates appointed to urge upon the Privy Council a settlement of the claims of this Province, regrets that the Federal Government have not seen fit to accede to the request of this House, as presented by the Delegates.

"It is obvious that the proposition made by the Federal Government cannot be accepted as a settlement of the claims urged by the Delegates charged with their submission at Ottawa, and while appreciating some of the concessions proposed, this House, impressed with a sense of its responsibility to the people of this country, and having in view the best interests of this Province, deems it its duty to decline the acceptance of the proposition."

## ANOTHER DELEGATION TO OTTAWA.

In January, 1885, Hon. Messrs. *Norquay* and *Murray* again proceeded to Ottawa on the invitation of the Federal Government, with the object of reopening the questions in dispute between the Dominion and the Province, for the purpose of effecting a settlement.

Their interview with the Privy Council resulted in the following proposals.

In the House of Commons, Sir John A. Macdonald delivered a message from His Excellency the Governor-General, which was read by the Speaker, as follows :

The Governor-General transmits to the House of Commons approved Minutes in Council, dated 23rd January, 1885, regarding the terms of the provisional settlement of the claims of the Province of Manitoba :

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
OTTAWA, 23rd Feb., 1885. }

CERTIFIED COPY of a Report of a Committee of the Honorable the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, on the 23rd January, 1885.

The Sub-Committee appointed to confer with Messrs. *Murray* and *Norquay*, of Manitoba, regarding the terms of settlement of the claims

of that Province, have the honor to report that several meetings of the Sub-Committee have been held, and after discussion, it was resolved that Mr. *Pope* should be requested to see Messrs. *Murray* and *Norquay*, and ascertain whether the terms to which the Sub-Committee were willing to advise consent would be acceptable to them.

The result of Mr. *Pope's* interview was the receipt of the following letter :

OTTAWA, 10th January, 1885.

*The Hon. John Henry Pope, Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa :*

SIR,—Having been delegated by the Legislature of Manitoba to urge upon the Privy Council a reconsideration of its offer of the 20th May last, in settlement of the claims of the Province, we would respectfully suggest the following modifications as a basis of settlement :

That the Dominion pay the Province annually the sum of One Hundred Thousand Dollars in lieu of lands.

That the debt capital, in consideration of the above, be allowed on a population of One Hundred and Twenty-five Thousand instead of One Hundred and Fifty Thousand, and that the Province waive its claim to re-embursement by the Dominion of costs incurred in the Government of the Disputed Territory, and the reference of the question of the settlement of the Boundary between Ontario and Manitoba to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Although not authorized by the Legislature to accept any settlement, we are of opinion that the modifications suggested, leaving the other items of subsidy and concessions offered in the despatch of the 20th May last, unchanged, would be favorably entertained by the Legislature.

We remain, Sir, your obedient servants,  
(Signed)

A. MURRAY,

Speaker,

J. NORQUAY.

Provincial Treasurer.

To this letter Mr. *Pope*, with the approbation of the Sub-Committee, replied on the same day, as follows :

OTTAWA, 10th January, 1885.

GENTLEMEN,—Adverting to a proposed agreement in May last, for the purpose of settling questions in discussion between the Dominion and the Province of Manitoba, I recommend

That such proposed agreement shall be modified by the propositions contained in the letter of Messrs. *Murray* and *Norquay* of this day's date.

That Parliament should be asked to concur in such proposed agreement as modified by such letters, on the condition that it be accepted by the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba as a settlement of all

questions in discussion between that Province and the Dominion up to the date of this letter.

And further, that it be a condition, if such proposed modified agreement is not accepted by the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba, at its next Session, as a full settlement of all questions discussed, it shall become null and void.

I have, etc.,

(Signed)

J. H. POPE.

### THIRD CONVENTION AT WINNIPEG.

A Convention of the Farmers' Union met in Victoria Hall, Winnipeg, on the 4th and 5th March, 1885, to discuss the proposed settlement.

Over 100 Delegates were present from the different branches of the Union throughout the Province.

The Bill of Rights was unanimously reaffirmed, clause by clause.

The following resolutions were then unanimously adopted :

### THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT CENSURED.

*"That whereas* a Committee was appointed at the last Convention to interview the Provincial Government, and, according to instructions, ascertained the views of said Government on the Bill of Rights adopted by the Farmers' Union, and found that the said Government was in full accord with the Union, and the Convention pledged the support of the Union in whatever action might be taken by said Government to secure the redress of any, or all of the grievances tabulated in the said Bill of Rights; but the Convention reserved the right to withdraw such support should circumstances at any time demand.

*And whereas* the Provincial Government has not taken the necessary steps to secure a redress of such grievances, but has proposed a disgraceful and uncalled for surrender of the rights of the Province.

*And whereas* by such action the Provincial Government have forfeited all right to the support of the people of Manitoba, it is hereby resolved that this Convention, on behalf of the people of Manitoba, hereby repudiates the action of the Delegates lately returned, and other members of the present Government, in proposing such surrender of the rights of the people of Manitoba, and we solemnly declare that this Convention will not accept such surrender, but individually and collectively, on behalf of the several Branch Unions we represent, pledge ourselves to constitutionally agitate for a full redress of grievances until every article of our Bill of Rights is fully conceded."

### THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PROVINCE.

*"Whereas* the representation of the people in the Dominion Par-

liament and Local Legislature of the Province is such that the minority of electors have a majority of representatives, it is hereby resolved that this Convention demands that the constituencies be so divided as to give the people equal and just representation according to population, in order that the true sentiments may be expressed by their representatives in the Dominion Parliament and the Local Legislature."

#### EXCESSIVE TAXATION AND BAD GOVERNMENT.

"Whereas the taxation upon the people of this Province is altogether disproportionate to their means; and the Municipal Government of the country is burdensome and expensive; and the present system of equalization of taxation is not satisfactory to the people of this Province; and the Judicial District Boards are expensive and practically irresponsible corporations, possessing the power to expend the people's money without being directly responsible to the people; and the present system of taxation for the maintenance of public schools is unjust. It is therefore hereby resolved that it is absolutely necessary, in the interests of the people of Manitoba that such amendments should be made to the Provincial, Municipal and School Act as will remedy existing evils, and place the entire control of the funds in their own hands and enable the municipal business of the country to be carried on efficiently and with the strictest economy."

After discussing other questions of a commercial nature, the Convention adjourned.

#### FOURTH CONVENTION AT WINNIPEG.

On the 31st March, 1885, the Farmers' Union Convention again assembled in Winnipeg, the different branches of the Union being represented by a large attendance of Delegates, who unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

#### DEFERRING AGITATION FOR REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES. UNTIL NORTHWEST INSURRECTION IS QUELLED.

*Resolved*, That we, the Delegates from the branches of the Farmers' Union throughout the Province, assembled in Convention, in the City of Winnipeg, for the purpose of protesting against the acceptance of the Terms offered by the Dominion Government as a settlement of the claims of Manitoba, find that since notice of this meeting was issued, the Provincial Government has accepted said Terms.

*And whereas* great excitement exists over the whole Northwest in consequence of the misguided actions of settlers in the Prince Albert Settlement, we consider it to be the duty of the members of this Union to defer further action regarding their grievances until a settlement of the Northwest troubles has been arrived at; and while we regret that

the gross neglect of the authorities have led to such a climax of misfortune, it would be against the best interests of the Province, at the present critical time, to place the slightest obstacle in the way of the Government taking effective measures to quell the insurrection.

## THE UNCONSTITUTIONAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

### THE PEOPLE NOT REPRESENTED.

*Resolved*, That this Convention hereby places on record its condemnation of the unconstitutional course pursued by the Provincial Government in precipitately forcing through the Legislature the acceptance of the Terms offered by the Federal Government, which are almost identical with the Terms unanimously rejected by the Legislature at its last session, especially as the Government was well aware that the members of the Legislature who were opposed to the acceptance of said Terms represented the majority of the votes cast at the last election, besides the fact that the people of Manitoba are not adequately represented in the Legislature, and that the true voice of the people cannot be known without a redistribution of the constituencies.

### THE BILL OF RIGHTS REAFFIRMED.

*Resolved*, That we hereby reaffirm, in its entirety, the Bill of Rights adopted by the Farmers' Union.

### AN APPEAL TO THE THRONE.

*Resolved*, That the following telegram be sent to the Governor-General of Canada :

#### TELEGRAM.

*To His Excellency the Marquis of Lansdowne, Governor-General of Canada :*

OTTAWA, Ont.

MY LORD,—I am instructed to forward the following :

*Resolved*, That we, the Delegates from the branches of the Farmers' Union throughout the Province of Manitoba, now assembled in Convention in the City of Winnipeg, hereby solemnly protest against the acceptance of the Terms offered by the Dominion Government as a final settlement of the claims of Manitoba, and we humbly request that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to give this petition your earnest consideration before ratifying a settlement so distasteful to the majority of the inhabitants of Manitoba, and which we humbly submit would be ruinous to the future prosperity of the Province. And that Your Excellency will not assent to any measure confirming the acceptance of the said Terms until the people of Manitoba have had the opportunity of

expressing their opinions on the same at the polls, which they never have had.

Full particulars of our complaints will be forwarded to Your Excellency by mail, and we beg to request that the same may be submitted to the Government in England.

I have the honor to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient humble servant,

GEORGE PURVIS,

Secretary Manitoba and Northwest Farmers' Union.

Winnipeg, March 31, 1885.

*Resolved*, That the Hon. Henry J. Clarke, Q.C., Alex. Fleming, M.D., and George Purvis, Secretary of the Manitoba and Northwest Farmers' Union, be a Committee to prepare documents to forward to His Excellency.

The Convention then adjourned.



STATEMENT  
OF THE  
GRIEVANCES AND CLAIMS  
OF THE  
PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

---

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, THE MOST HONORABLE SIR HENRY  
CHARLES KEITH PETTY-FITZMAURICE, MARQUIS OF LANS-  
DOWNE, in the County of Somerset, Earl of Wycombe, of  
Chipping Wycombe, in the County of Bucks, Viscount  
Calne and Calnstone, in the County of Wilts, and Lord  
Wycombe, Baron of Chipping Wycombe, in the County of  
Bucks, in the Peerage of Great Britain, Earl of Kerry and  
Earl of Shelbourne, Viscount Clanmaurice and Fitzmaurice,  
Baron of Kerry, Lixnaw and Dunkerron, in the Peerage of  
Ireland, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished  
Order of St. Michael and St. George, Governor-General of  
Canada and Vice-Admiral of the same.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY :

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE  
 "MANITOBA AND NORTH-WEST FARMERS' UNION"

*Most Respectfully Sheweth :*

THAT, at a Convention of "THE MANITOBA AND NORTHWEST FARMERS' UNION," held at the City of Winnipeg, on the 31st of March, 1885, (See Introduction Page xxii). your Petitioners were named a Committee to prepare and forward to Your Excellency a plain and unvarnished statement of the Grievances of the Province of Manitoba, and of Her Claims, as a Province in the Confederation of the Dominion of Canada, to have the TERMS, on which She was taken into the Union, reconsidered, and to be placed, as a Province, in the same position—Constitutionally—with the other Provinces of the Dominion.

The position of Manitoba in the Union is a false one. She is not a Province under the British North America Act, 1867, not having the rights or jurisdiction allowed Her, that are given to all the other Provinces, confederated under that Act; and even the jurisdiction pretended to be given Her, by virtue of that Act—an Act of the British Parliament—is unconstitutionally brushed away by the mere motion of the Parliament of Canada, under a condition in a contract with a Railway Company! without any regard to the wants, or wishes, or of the legal and constitutional rights of the people of a weak Province. This, we submit, cannot be allowed to continue any longer. It is time,—at the end of fifteen years of prayers, and petitions, and appeals, to the politicians of Canada, for justice,—to drop what has proved to be a humiliating and unprofitable series of "Better Terms" delegations, ending in a piece of political trickery, such as should disgrace the parties to it, no matter by what name they may be designated, or by what motives they pretend to be animated; and make an appeal directly to HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY.

Your Excellency's Petitioners, "THE MANITOBA AND NORTHWEST FARMERS' UNION," therefore beg leave to approach Your Excellency, and pray that you will take this, Our Humble Petition, and our statement of Our Grievances and demands, into your serious and favorable consideration; and, further, We Most Humbly Pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to forward to HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY; this, Our Petition and statement of the Grievances and demands of the Province of Manitoba and the Northwest Territory, so that HER MAJESTY may order justice to be done in the premises.

The Northwest Territory, and, for that matter, the whole of the present Dominion of Canada; that was not before that time, became the property of the British Crown, by the Treaty of Paris, in 1763. Why there should be any distinction made as to political status, between one part of La Nouvelle France, and another, we cannot see. Why any one Colony, or group of Colonies, formed out of the old French possessions, should assume sovereignty over any other Colony, or portion of that Territory, we cannot understand; and we are not, as British subjects, prepared to submit to any such assumption.

We claim the same constitutional rights and jurisdiction for the Northwest Territory that the Imperial (British North America) Act, gives to each and every one of the other Colonies forming the Confederation of the Dominion of Canada, and that unless a satisfactory settlement be made and entered into, between the Dominion Government and the present—so-called—Province of Manitoba, such as will prove satisfactory to the people of the Province, then, and in that case, we submit, that the whole of the Northwest Territory, including the so-called Province of Manitoba—if satisfactory terms can be agreed on—be taken into the Dominion Confederation constitutionally, as a Province, and with all the constitutional rights of a Province; as provided for under the British North America Act, 1867.

We would further Humbly Submit that, if no satisfactory

terms can be arranged for a constitutional union of the so-called Province of Manitoba, or of the whole of the Northwest Territory; with the Dominion; then, and in that case; We Most Humbly Pray, That HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY will be pleased to resume Her Imperial jurisdiction over the whole of the Northwest Territory, and that in due time, and on such fair and equitable conditions as may appear reasonable and just to HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY, the said Territory be erected into a Crown Colony of the Empire, and that the Colony so established be charged with a fair share of the cost of the construction of the Canada Pacific Railway, and be allowed to set-off against such cost the value of the Public Land taken by the Dominion of Canada for railway and other purposes.

The people of this country well know that the Confederation of the British Colonies in North America, was a necessity of their continued existence, as British possessions. We know that so long as they were separate, and each with a different Customs Tariff and conflicting interests; there could be no sympathy between them; and it was only a question of time as to how long they would remain true to the Empire, when they had no patriotic or National feeling to cement them together; therefore, it became necessary to bring about Confederation. This feeling was no new thing. The Canadian Annexation Manifesto (asking for annexation to the United States) of 1849, signed, as it was, by a large number of leading politicians, many of whom have, since that time, become loyal subjects; and have been singled out for Imperial honors and titles; strongly pointed to the necessity of establishing a closer bond of union between the Provinces of British North America. Long before that time, however, in fact, from shortly after the beginning of the present century, when the Colonies in British North America began to attract the attention of the statesmen of England, through the visits of Princes, and other notable personages of the Empire; and, above all, when the Loyalty and devotion of the Colonists in the war of 1812-15 was fully realized at home; The value of the Colonies to the Mother Country could no longer be doubted.

The great importance and absolute necessity, both to Canada and the British Empire, of establishing a strong and united confederacy or union of all the colonies in British North America under one Government, had for many years been forcing itself upon the attention of the statesmen of the Empire and of the colonies. The Rebellion in Upper and Lower Canada in 1837-38 first proved to the Empire the necessity and prudence of according responsible Government to these two Provinces, and of testing the principle of union, and accordingly Upper and Lower Canada were united under the name of the Province of Canada, and responsible Government given to them by an Act of the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland. From the time of that union (1841) up to the time of the Rebellion of the Southern States of the American Union (1861) the peace, prosperity and progress of Canada was most marked. Nothing occurred of a serious nature save the international question of boundary between Canada and the United States. The test of union proved altogether satisfactory although the people forming the population of the united Provinces were distinct in language, religion and laws. The Trent difficulty in 1861 between the United States and England, growing out of the Southern Rebellion, forced on the Government of the Empire the absolute necessity of a union of all the British North American Colonies under one Government, so that united they might be able, not only to defend and support each other, but also be made a tower of strength, instead of a source of weakness, to the Empire. The march of the British troops on snow shoes from Halifax to Montreal in the winter of 1861 demonstrated the absolute necessity of a union of the Colonies, and for a united effort of their people to construct railways from the Atlantic seaboard through the interior of the country up to the great lakes, as well for purposes of commerce as for purposes of defence. The Fenian raid on Canada in 1866 proved to a demonstration that Confederation could no longer be deferred if the British North American colonies were of importance to the Empire. The question was vigorously pushed, and by the united efforts of the statesmen of England and of the Colonies

the four Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were confederated together under "The British North America Act" (30 and 31 Victoria, Cap. 3) and the Dominion of Canada established in 1867. By section 146 of "The British North America Act" provision is made for the admission of the Provinces of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and British Columbia into the Union and on an address from the Houses of the Parliament of Canada to admit Rupert's Land (Hudson's Bay Company's territory) and the Northwest Territory, OR EITHER OF THEM, INTO THE UNION.

In accordance with the foregoing provision an address of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada was passed and an Order-in-Council founded thereon was passed on the 1st of October, 1868, and Sir George E. Cartier and the Hon. William Macdougall, C. B., were appointed a delegation to England to arrange "Terms for the acquisition by Canada of Rupert's Land" and by another Order-in-Council of the same date, the same delegates were authorized to arrange "For the admission of the Northwest Territory into union with Canada, either with or without Rupert's Land, as may be found practicable and expedient," the first term expressed to Her Majesty in the address, being—

1st. That Canada should undertake the duties and obligations of Government, and legislate in respect of those Territories."

Long before this time (1862) in consequence of the danger of international complications arising between the Empire and the United States during the Indian uprising in Minnesota, Her Majesty's Government had already under serious consideration the question of assuming the Government of the Hudson's Bay Company's Territory and of the Northwest Territory. His Grace, the Duke of Manchester, was then in correspondence with the Hudson's Bay Company with that view. On the 28th of August, 1863, His Grace received the following resolution, passed by the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company:

"RESOLVED,—That the time has come when, in the opinion of this Committee, it is expedient that the authority, executive and judicial over the Red River settlement and the south-western portion of Rupert's Land should be vested in officers deriving such authority directly from the Crown and exercising it in the name of Her Majesty.

"That the Governor be empowered to communicate this resolution to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, and to discuss the subject with him, or with the Under Secretary of State for the colonies, reporting from time to time to this committee thereon."

After a very long and tedious correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Hudson's Bay Company, it was found that the proposition of the latter to retain possession of the lands of the territory, while the Empire should be responsible for and at the expense of governing the same, was not practicable, as appears from the following extract of a letter from His Grace, the Duke of Newcastle, to the Hudson Bay Company, 11th March, 1864, "Respecting the introduction of the direct authority of Her Majesty's Government into Rupert's Land."

"In an unsettled Colony there is no effectual mode of taxation for purposes of Government and improvement AND THE WHOLE PROGRESS OF THE COLONY DEPENDS ON THE LIBERAL AND PRUDENT DISPOSAL OF ITS LANDS. It is true that in former times the whole soil of a settlement was frequently conveyed to a proprietary body, but in these cases the responsibilities of Government followed the grant of property. Those who were invested with extensive corporate rights of possession bore (like the East India Company in its earlier days) the whole expense of both Civil Government and of military defence. It is also clear that Colonists of the Anglo-Saxon race look upon the land revenue as legitimately belonging to the community, and that the diversion of half or more than half of that revenue to the purposes of increasing the dividends of a private corporation, would cause a continual and growing discontent, which could not be allayed by any abstract agreement of right."

By the same correspondence it is made manifest that the price

asked by the Hudson Bay Company for land was "one shilling per acre" for all land sold or conceded by the Government to individuals or to companies or corporations. The boundaries of Manitoba were extended in 1882 from 11 millions to 96 millions of acres. The Province of Manitoba still covers over 69 millions of acres, after having been ejected from the occupation of 27 million acres by the decision of Her Majesty's Privy Council, in favor of Ontario.

After an extended correspondence between the Government of Her Majesty, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian delegation, the latter brought the correspondence and negotiations to an abrupt termination by making the following statement and demand :

SIR GEO. E. CARTIER AND MR. MACDOUGALL TO SIR F. ROGERS.

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,

LONDON, February 8th, 1869.

SIR,—We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th ultimo, enclosing a copy of Sir Stafford Northcote's letter of the 13th ultimo, in reply to proposals made to the Hudson's Bay Company for the cession to the Crown of their territorial rights in British America, by His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, in the letter of Mr. Adderley of the 1st December last.

You state that Earl Granville directed you to transmit this document to us for any observations which we may wish to offer upon it. His Lordship's courtesy and consideration in sending us a copy of Sir Stafford Northcote's letter, and inviting us to express our views upon it, are gratefully acknowledged, but upon reflection we thought it would be expedient to refrain from any formal expression of our opinion on new and indefinite propositions until we had received some intimation of the view which His Lordship was likely himself to take of them, or of the policy in respect to the general question which Her Majesty's present advisers intend to adopt.

At an interview with which we were favored by Earl Granville on the 26th ultimo, he expressed his preference for a less complicated mode of dealing with the Hudson's Bay question than that proposed by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, and requested us to communicate to him our observations on the reply of Sir Stafford Northcote, and especially



on the proposition with which his letter concludes, viz., that the Canadian Government should "complete the purchase of the territory at once by the payment of a sum of money or by the delivery of bonds."

As we have had but few opportunities to confer with His Lordship since his accession to office, it may be proper, before considering Sir Stafford Northcote's letter, to state the position of the Canadian Government, as we apprehend it in this negotiation.

The British North America Act of 1867 affirmed the policy of uniting under one Government all the colonies, provinces and territories of British North America. Three provinces were united at once, and provision was made by the 146th section for the admission into the Union of the remaining colonies on address to Her Majesty by their respective Legislatures and the Parliament of Canada.

The Northwest Territories and Rupert's Land, or either of them, are to be admitted on the address of the Parliament of Canada alone, and on such terms and conditions as the Canadian Parliament may in its address express and Her Majesty approve.

In pursuance of the policy of the Imperial Parliament thus distinctly affirmed, the Canadian Parliament, at its first session under the new constitution, adopted an address to Her Majesty for the incorporation of the Northwest Territory and Rupert's Land with the Dominion of Canada. The terms and conditions expressed in the address were :

1st. That Canada should undertake the duties and obligations of Government, and legislate in respect of those territories.

2nd. That the rights of any corporation, company, or individual within the territories should be respected, and that provision should be made for that purpose by placing those rights under the protection of courts of competent jurisdiction.

3rd. That the claims of the Indian tribes to compensation for lands required for purposes of settlement should be considered and settled, in conformity with the equitable principles which have uniformly governed the British Crown in its dealings with the aborigines.

The above were the only terms and conditions which, in the

opinion of the Canadian Parliament, it was expedient to insert in the Order-in-Council authorized by the 146th section.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, on receiving the address of the Canadian Parliament, consulted the law officers of the Crown, who advised, among other things, that "there would be much difficulty created by the existence of the charter" of the Hudson's Bay Company, "to putting into execution the powers of the 140th (146th) section of the British America Act, 1867, assuming that the Hudson's Bay Company were averse to the union."

A bill was thereupon carried through the Imperial Parliament, apparently to remove the "difficulties" which the law officers had discovered. It reverses the order of procedure contemplated by the Act of 1867, and observed by the Canadian Parliament in its address, and makes the assent of the company a condition precedent to the transfer.

The Canadian Government were not consulted as to the terms of this Act; they could not understand why it was necessary, and greatly doubted the expediency of passing it.

The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, having opened negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company under the authority of the Act last mentioned, invited a delegation from the Canadian Government to confer with him in this country. The undersigned, duly commissioned for that purpose, repaired to London in October last, and had frequent interviews with His Grace before his retirement from office.

The proposals submitted to the company by the late Government in the letter of Mr. Adderley, of the 1st December last, were not made at our suggestion, although we were disposed to think (and so informed His Grace) that if the company accepted them, the Canadian Parliament might be persuaded to undertake the duties of legislation and government in the territories on the conditions specified.

The company, through Sir Stafford Northcote, have declined to accept either the principle or the mode of settlement proposed by the late Government, but suggest a new and summary method of closing the negotiations, by demanding that the Canadian Government should, by a payment in cash or bonds, "complete the purchase of the territory at once." No sum is mentioned, and no data given from which it can be inferred. Under these circumstances, we are asked, as representatives of the Canadian Government, to communicate to Earl Granville any

observations we may wish to offer on this reply and proposition of the company.

His Lordship will readily perceive from the foregoing recital that, as representatives of the Canadian Government, we are in the position of spectators of a negotiation, begun and carried on upon principles and under conditions to which we are strangers, rather than that of assenting principles, responsible for its initiation, and bound by its results.

Without undertaking, therefore, that our views on every point will be approved by the Canadian Government, we proceed most respectfully to offer a few observations on Sir Stafford Northcote's reply to the recent proposals of the Imperial Government.

It will be observed that two things are assumed in these proposals to the company, which the Canadian Government have always disputed.

1st. That the charter of Charles II. is still valid, and grants the right of soil, or freehold, of Rupert's Land, to the company.

2nd. That Rupert's Land includes the so-called "Fertile Belt," extending from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains.

The law officers of the Crown in England have, on two or three occasions, given their opinion in favor of the first assumption, but never, so far as we are aware, in favor of the second. The report of the law officers in 1857 admits that the geographical extent of the territory granted must be determined by excluding the country that "could have been rightfully claimed by the French as falling within the boundaries of Canada," (which the charter itself excludes by express words), and states that "the assertion of ownership on important public occasions, as at the treaties of Ryswick and Utrecht," should be considered; and also "the effect of the Acts of 1774 and 1791." The most recent opinion of the law officers of the Crown which we have seen (January 6th, 1868), as to the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, does not even by implication support their present claim to the fee-simple of nearly one-third of the American continent. On the contrary, Sir John Karslake and his colleagues conclude their report with the emphatic statement that it is "very necessary, before any union of Rupert's Land with Canada is effected, that the true limits of the territory and possessions held under the charter should be accurately defined." An assumption, therefore, which covers so much ground, and is unsupported by any competent legal authority; which ignores the repeated protests and claims of Canada, and seeks to supply a basis upon which a surrender for valuable consideration may be made, is, to

say the least, a most favorable assumption for the company. We notice these points in Mr. Adderley's letter before remarking on Sir Stafford Northcote's reply, to prevent the possible inference that we have acquiesced in them.

Sir Stafford Northcote assures Lord Granville that the company "continues sincerely anxious to promote the object with a view to which the company was reconstructed five-and-a-half years ago, viz., the gradual settlement of such portions of their territory as admit of colonization." It would be tedious to quote the numerous and positive averments by members and governors of the Hudson's Bay Company, in the course of official inquiries during the last fifty years, that their territories (in which they include the Red River and Saskatchewan districts) are totally unfit for colonization. The evidence of Sir George Simpson, before the House of Commons committee of 1857, is a fair sample of the views heretofore entertained and avowed by the representatives of the company. (Vide Commons Report, 1857; Questions 716, 717, 718, 719, etc.) Mr. Ellice, for many years the ruling spirit of the company, declared before the same committee that the Red River settlement was an "unwise speculation," and "had failed;" that "the climate is not favorable;" that the Saskatchewan is a country capable of settlement only when "the population of America becomes so dense that they are forced into situations less fit for settlement than those they occupy now;" that the winters are "rigorous," and the country badly off for "fuel," etc. (Questions 5,840 and 5,847).

With such views of the unfitness of the country for settlement, and allowing their belief that colonization and the fur-trade could not exist together, it is not surprising that the company have always cherished the latter, which was profitable, and discouraged, and, as far as possible, prevented the former, which had proved an "unwise speculation." It is true that the company was "re-constructed" in 1863, with loud promises of a new policy. A great road across the continent was to be made, a telegraph line was to be put up, and emigration and colonization developed on a large scale. The Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, was so much impressed by the zeal and public spirit of the gentlemen who effected the re construction, that he wrote despatches to the Canadian Government on their behalf, and evidently believed that a new era was about to open in the Northwest, and the wild animals and fur-traders retreat before the march of "European" settlers. The stock of the old company, worth in the market about

£1,000,000. was bought up, and by some process which we are unable to describe, became £2,000,000. A show of anxiety to open postal and telegraphic communication was made, and "heads of proposals" were submitted to the Governments of Canada and British Columbia, which on examination were found to embrace a line of telegraph only, with the modest suggestion that the two Governments should guarantee the company a profit of not less than 4 per cent. on their expenditure! A proposal so absurd could only have been made to be rejected, and it was rejected accordingly. The surplus capital of the re-constructed company, which was called up for the avowed purpose of opening their territories to "European colonization, under a liberal and systematic scheme of land settlement," has never been applied to that purpose. Five and a half years have passed since the grand scheme was announced to the world, but no European emigrants have been sent out, no attempts to colonize have been made. Sir Stafford Northcote was not probably aware, when he vouched for the bona fides of the Hudson's Bay Company as promoters of colonization, that a solemn vote of the shareholders was taken in the month of November, 1866, which condemned and rejected the policy of colonization, absolutely and definitely.

While unable, for the reasons stated, to concur in Sir Stafford Northcote's assurance that the Hudson's Bay Company are anxious to promote colonization, we are gratified to learn that they "adhere" to the resolution of 28th August, 1863, that the time has come when it is expedient that "the authority executive and judicial over the Red River settlement and the south-western portion of Rupert's Land, should be vested in officers deriving such authority directly from the Crown."

The first remark we have to make upon this reference to the resolution of 1863 is, that it admits the continued incapacity of the company as a governing power; the second, that if this was true in 1863,—if at that time it had become expedient to substitute the authority of the Crown for that of the company,—it is much more expedient, if not absolutely necessary, now; and third, that if the company are to be relieved of the duty and cost of Government which their charter imposes, and which they admit they do not and cannot properly discharge, compensation should be made, not to the company, as is claimed, but by the company to those who take the burden off their shoulders.

We confess we have failed to discover any evidence, and therefore cannot believe, that the company have "cheerfully" accepted the

decision of Her Majesty's Government, "that the whole of the company's territory should, under proper conditions, be united with Canada." A brief notice of the acts, in contrast with the professions of the company, will, we think, account for the ill success of our researches and justify our incredulity.

The representatives of the company, while declaring before the House of Commons Committee in 1857 (as we have already shown), that their territories were "unfit for settlement," professed their readiness to surrender any portion of them that might be desired by the Imperial or Canadian Government for that purpose.

Mr. Ellice declared, in the most unqualified terms, not only that the company was willing to surrender, but that it was the duty of the Government to see that no mere trading corporation obstructed "for one moment," nor to the extent of "one acre of land fit for settlement," the "dominion of the actual settlers." (Commons Report, 1857 ; Questions 5,859, 5,860, and 5,933).

The Governor of the Company informed the Colonial Secretary (18th July, 1857), that an inquiry into the "geographical extent of the territory granted by their charter," which the law officers had recommended, was of little importance, because, if the object of the inquiry was "to obtain for Canada land fit for cultivation and the establishment of agricultural settlers, the directors are already prepared to recommend to the shareholders of the company to cede any lands which may be required for that purpose. The terms of such cession," he assured Mr. Labouchere, "would be a matter of no difficulty between Her Majesty's Government and the company."

Mr. Ellice had previously told the House of Commons Committee, that the question of boundary was "of no importance at all," because "if the Province of Canada require any part of the territory, or the whole of it, for purposes of settlement, it ought not to be permitted for one moment to remain in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company." He added, that "less money than would be spent in a litigation upon the subject would be sufficient to indemnify the Hudson's Bay Company for any claim which they could have on giving up any disputed part of their territory."

These assurances induced the committee to negative propositions for ascertaining by a judicial inquiry the validity of the charter, or the position of boundaries, and to report in favor of annexing to Canada "such portion of the land in her neighborhood as may be available to

her for the purposes of settlement, with which she is willing to open and maintain communication, and for which she will provide the means of local administration." The committee "trusted" that there would be "no difficulty in effecting arrangements as between Her Majesty's Government and the Hudson's Bay Company" for ceding the territory on "equitable principles."

It may be proper to remind Earl Granville that leading members of the committee of 1857, taking the offers of the company on the subject of colonization to mean, what the language of their representatives imported, strongly opposed the recommendation to leave the question open for "amicable adjustment" upon "equitable principles," with the certainty of protracted negotiation and a chance of ultimate disagreement. Mr. Gladstone accordingly submitted resolutions for a prompt and definite settlement of the whole question. He proposed;

1st. "That the country capable of colonization should be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company."

2nd. "That the country incapable of colonization should remain within their jurisdiction."

He proposed that in the country remaining within their jurisdiction, power should be reserved to Her Majesty's Government to make grants "for the purposes of mines and fisheries, but with due regard to the immunities and trade of the company." No "immunities" were even suggested with respect to the country which was to be withdrawn for colonization. He proposed to ignore the charter by declaring that the jurisdiction of the company "should rest henceforth upon the basis of statute." He quoted the Governor's letter above referred to, "as an expression of the willingness of the company to accept in principle the arrangement" he proposed, and ended with the suggestion that, "as the company had tendered concessions which may prove sufficient to meet the case," no decision seemed necessary as to the question of raising "a judicial issue with the view of ascertaining the legal rights of the company." The propositions of Mr. Gladstone were only lost in the committee by the casting vote of the chairman.

Twelve years have passed since these offers were made by the company and accepted by a committee of Parliament. Every Colonial Secretary, from 1858 to the present moment, has attempted to carry out the recommendation of the committee, with the assent of the company, but without success. Two Acts of the Imperial Parliament have been passed, with provisions to facilitate the arrangement, but are yet

without fruit. Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer characterized the offers of the company during his administrations as "illusory," and declared that they "by no means met the exigencies of the case." He expressed his regret at a determination on their part which "retains the very difficulty in the way of speedy and amicable settlement which he had sought to remove," and stated that if Canada declined to resort to "legal proceedings" (which he had recommended) "it would be his duty to consider whether negotiations with the company can be resumed or whether in the last resort Her Majesty's Government must take the matter into their own hands and proceed on their own account." (Mr. Merivale's letter to H. H. Berens, 9th March, 1859). Sir Edward remained in office long enough to put an end to the company's license of exclusive trade in British Columbia and the Indian Territories, but not long enough to carry out his policy of "connecting the two sides of British North America without the obstacle interposed by a proprietary jurisdiction between them."

The Duke of Newcastle opened negotiations with the company, in 1863-4, with much vigor. But after various proposals and counter-proposals, including the "reconstruction" of the company, he was obliged to treat their propositions as "inadmissible."

Mr. Cardwell, during his administration, could not accept their proposals "without considerable modifications."

The Duke of Buckingham, after many discussions with the representatives of the company, regretted to perceive that their proposals "did not afford much prospect of an arrangement being come to," and in the communication to which the letter of Sir Stafford Northcote is a reply, declared himself "unable to recommend the adoption" of the terms demanded by the company.

Our notice of what, in Sir Stafford Northcote's opinion, constitutes a "cheerful" acceptance of the decision of Her Majesty's Government, would be incomplete, if we did not remind Earl Granville that the company's "proper conditions" for the surrender of that portion of the Northwestern Territories, for which they can show no title but such as may be derived from the possession of a few trading posts, established there within the last fifty years, rose from a question of "no importance at all" in 1857, or, at most, of "less money than would be spent in a litigation on the subject," (House of Commons Report, Question 5,834,) to the retention, in 1863, in fee simple, of HALF the land proposed to be surrendered, with various other conditions, including a guarantee



by the Governments of Canada and British Columbia, of an annual profit on the company's expenditure for improvements on their own property! In 1864 these conditions took the form of a demand, first, to be paid £1,000,000 sterling from sales of lands and mines, with large reservations "to be selected by them," etc.; and, secondly, to be paid £1,000,000 sterling in cash, with other terms and reservations favorable to the company.

In 1868, these conditions for the surrender of territorial and governing rights over the WHOLE territory remained at £1,000,000, as in the first proposition of 1864, with large reservations of land at "selected" points, specially exempted from taxation, and with full liberty to carry on their trade free from the export and import duties, to which all other subjects of Her Majesty in that country would be exposed.

In 1869, these various proposals, which no Secretary of State could possibly entertain, have all been apparently merged in one grand proposition to sell out "the territory at once for a sum of money," in cash or bonds, the amount of which is not stated.

We content ourselves under this head with the observation, that whatever others may be able to see in all these transactions, we are utterly unable to discover either a cheerful acceptance of the decision of any Government, or an honest disposition to fulfil the solemn pledges made to Parliament in 1857, on the faith of which the company was unquestionably saved from judicial or legislative extinction.

Sir Stafford Northcote claims credit for the company because they have "declined to encourage overtures which have been made to them by private persons for the purchase of portions of the company's territory with a view to their colonization." Our information is (and we can give Earl Granville names and dates, if the point is deemed of any importance) that the only "overtures" of the kind mentioned which the company have received, were not merely "encouraged," but suggested and concocted by prominent members of the company, for the purpose of producing an impression on the Government, and with a view, not to colonization, but to NEGOTIATION and the Stock Market.

We are not sure that we understand the statement of Sir Stafford Northcote that the company "have taken no step which would give rise to fresh complications or place any new difficulty in the way of the admission of their territory into the Confederation." The sale of land to private parties for colonization (assuming that bona fide offers have been received from such parties) could not give rise to such complica-

tion, except in the affairs of the company. If Sir Stafford hints at the negotiations which were lately reported to be going on with certain American speculators in London, for denationalizing and Americanizing the company with a view to the "admission of their territory" into the United States, instead of the Confederation, we respectfully submit that while such a difficulty might indeed be "new," the proper person to solve it would be Her Majesty's Attorney-General, with the aid of a court and jury of competent jurisdiction.

We do not understand that Earl Granville expects us to defend in detail the Duke of Buckingham's proposals, or to answer all the objections made to them by Sir Stafford Northcote. The Government of Canada, as we have already reminded. His Lordship, neither suggested the Act of Parliament nor the terms of the negotiation, which the late Secretary of State for the Colonies attempted to carry out under its authority. The Canadian plan of dealing with the question of the Northwestern Territory and Rupert's Land, is set forth in the address of the Canadian Parliament to Her Most Gracious Majesty, and we do not feel at liberty, as representatives, to suggest any other mode, until we are informed by Her Majesty's Government that the one proposed is deemed impracticable.

Sir Stafford Northcote's suggestion that "the payment of a sum of money" for the purchase of the territory would conduce to a more satisfactory result, is, we believe, the point upon which Earl Granville specially desires to have our views. Assuming that by "territory" he means the WHOLE territory to which the company lay claim, and that they are to continue as a trading corporation, retaining their posts, and allotments of land in their neighborhood, as he states was agreed upon by the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Kimberley, we have to observe:

1. This proposition involves an abandonment of the PRINCIPLE which two Secretaries of State (and, it must be presumed, two successive administrations), declared, after much consideration, and in view of the transactions of 1857, was properly and justly applicable to this case, viz.: That the compensation should be derived from the future revenue of the territory itself, and payable only as it came into the hands of Government. This PRINCIPLE was also accepted by the company in their communication of 13th April, 1864.

2. On the other hand, the principle of ascertaining and fixing a money value upon the territorial rights of the company "in the British territory east of the Rocky Mountains, and north of the American and

Canadian lines," and of extinguishing those rights by a payment "at once," was suggested, in 1865, by a delegation from the Canadian Government of that day, and assented to by Mr. Cardwell, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and his colleagues.

If the latter principle and mode of settlement is now to be adopted, it is obvious that the first question is, What is the nature of these "rights," and what territories do they affect? And the second, What are the rights, separated from the duties and burdens attached to them by the Charter, fairly worth?

We shall not attempt to answer these questions fully in the present communication, but we venture to submit, for Earl Granville's consideration, a few facts and inferences, which cannot, we believe, be disputed, and which are essential elements in any calculation which may be attempted on the basis of a money purchase

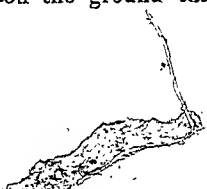
1. The Charter of Charles II. (and for the present we raise no question as to its validity) could not and did not grant to the Hudson's Bay Company any territory in America which was not then (1670) subject to the Crown of England.

2. The Charter expressly excluded all lands, etc., then "possessed by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state."

3. By the treaty of St. Germain's-en-Laye (1632), the King of England resigned to the King of France the sovereignty of Acadia, New France, and Canada, generally, and without limits.

4. "La Nouvelle France" was then understood to include the whole region of Hudson's Bay, as the maps and histories of the time, English and French abundantly prove.

5. At the treaty of Ryswick (1697), 27 years after the date of the Charter, the right of the French to "places situated in the Hudson's Bay" was distinctly admitted; and although commissioners were appointed (but never came to an agreement) to "examine and determine the pretensions which either of the said Kings hath to the places situate in the Hudson's Bay," and with "authority for settling the limits and confines of the lands to be restored on either side;" the places taken from the English (i. e. from the Hudson's Bay Company) by the French previous to the war, and "retaken by the English during this war; shall be left to the French by virtue of the foregoing (the 7th) article." In other words, the forts and factories of the Hudson's Bay Company, established in Hudson's Bay under pretence of their Charter, and taken possession of by the French in time of peace, on the ground that they



were an invasion of French territory, were restored, by the Treaty of Ryswick, to the French, and not to the company.

6. By the Treaty of Utrecht, 1714, "the Bay and Straits of Hudson, together with all lands, seas, sea coasts, rivers and places situate in the BAY AND STRAITS, and which belong thereto," were finally ceded to Great Britain.

7. As no definite boundary was ever established between the possessions of the French in the interior and the English at Hudson's Bay, down to the Treaty of Paris, 1763, when the whole of Canada was ceded to Great Britain, the extent of the actual possession by the two nations for some period, say from the Treaty of Utrecht to the Treaty of Paris, affords the only rational and true basis for ascertaining that boundary.

8. The evidence is abundant and conclusive to prove that the French traded over, and possessed the whole of the country known as the Winnipeg Basin and "Fertile Belt," from its discovery by Europeans down to the Treaty of Paris, and that the Hudson's Bay Company neither traded nor established posts to the south or west of Lake Winnipeg, until many years after the cession of Canada to England.

9. No other or subsequent grant to the company was ever made which could possibly extend their territorial rights under their Charter. The license to trade in the Indian territories, which they obtained in 1821, was revoked in 1858, and has not been renewed.

10. The country which, in view of these facts, must be excluded from the operation of the Charter, includes all the lands fit for cultivation and settlement in that part of British America.

It will be for Earl Granville to consider, whether this company is entitled to demand any payment whatever, for surrendering to the Crown that which already belongs to it. We confess our utter inability, upon any principle of law, or justice, or public policy, with which we are acquainted, to estimate the amount which ought to be paid under such circumstances. The only basis of computation we can discover, applicable to such a case, is the cost of the legal proceedings necessary, if any be necessary, to recover possession. A person has taken possession of a part of your domain under the pretence that it is included in a deed which you gave him for some adjoining property before you purchased the domain. You want to get rid of him, but will be compelled to bring an action. He is artful, stubborn, wealthy, and influential. He will be able to worry you with a tedious litigation.

How many acres will you allow him to "reserve," and how much will you pay to save yourself the cost and trouble of a law suit? Compromises of this kind are not unknown in private life, and the motives and calculations which govern them may be applicable to the present case.

We recommend this mode of computing the amount of the payment to be made for the surrender of the Northwest Territory, as distinguished from Rupert's Land, with all the more confidence, because it has already been suggested by one of the ablest and most trusted of the representatives of the company. (Vide evidence of Right Honorable E. Ellice, House of Commons Report, 1857; Question 5,834.)

With respect to Rupert's Land, or the "lands and territories," "upon the coasts and confines of the seas, bays," etc., "that lie within the entrance of the straits commonly called Hudson's Straits," "not possessed by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state," a different rule, we admit, may be held to apply. Giving to the words of grant the widest construction, territorially, that could possibly be admitted by any judicial body with the facts of the case in evidence before it, or giving to these words the construction which the company themselves applied for a hundred years from the date of their Charter, the "rights" they propose to sell are of little commercial value. No revenue, we feel assured, will ever be derived from them. The fur trade is the only industry the country offers as a source of profit, and this, if we rightly understand Sir Stafford Northcote's suggestion, the company wish to retain.

It has never been alleged, even by the most sanguine advocates of the new theory of the company respecting land sales, that any revenue can be derived from that source within the limits which we have assigned to Rupert's Land. The cost of Government there, inconsiderable though it may be, will always exceed any possible revenue. We are thus led to the same conclusion as in the case of the territory claimed, but not owned, by the company, viz.: that what they propose to sell has no pecuniary or commercial value. They are there, however, by at least a show of right. Being there, they obstruct the progress of Imperial and Colonial policy, and put in jeopardy the sovereign rights of the Crown over one-third (and, as some think, even a larger portion) of the North American continent. "What is it worth to have this obstruction QUIETLY removed?" This is, perhaps, the true question; but the answer, we admit, belongs rather to Her Majesty's Government—which has the power, in the event of resistance, to remove

the evil by a summary process—than to those who are little more than spectators of the negotiation.

Earl Granville is aware that several attempts have been made since 1857 to arrive at a definite agreement on the subject of compensation. The suggestions and proposals on each side, together with the actual market value of the company's stock at different periods, supply data which His Lordship may deem of importance; and we therefore respectfully submit our views as to the conclusions which may be deduced from them.

The first attempt of the Imperial Government to estimate, and express in pounds sterling, the compensation which it would be reasonable to offer to the company, was made by the Duke of Newcastle in 1864. The greatest sum which, after "very grave consideration," His Grace felt himself able to propose for the surrender of the country west of Lake Winnipeg, was £250,000. But the payment was subject to the following conditions :

1. £150,000 was to be derived from the sale of lands by Government within the territory. The payment was to be made at the rate of 1s. per acre sold, but to be entirely dependent on the Government receipts.

2. Payments were to cease whenever they reached £150,000; and absolutely at the end of fifty years.

3. The company was to be paid one-fourth of the sum received by Government for export duty on gold or for mining licenses or leases for gold-mining in the territory, for fifty years, or until the aggregate amounted to £100,000.

4. The payment of any part of the £250,000 was contingent on the ability of the company to place Her Majesty's Government in possession of an "indisputable title" to the territory ceded by them as against the claims of Canada.

The last condition was objected to by the company on the ground that they could only give such title as they had, which they contended "must be taken for better for worse." The Duke of Newcastle renewed his offer, modifying the last condition into a stipulation that, in case it should be found advisable, the territory eastward of a line passing through Lake Winnipeg and Lake of the Woods, might be ceded or annexed to Canada, in which case nothing will be payable to the company in respect of THAT territory.

The present value in cash of such an offer, subject to the conditions and contingencies specified, would be very difficult to ascertain. The

revenue from export duty on gold and for licenses would, probably be NIL. The revenue from land sales, if the cost of surveys, management, and necessary roads were deducted, would be NIL also. It is very doubtful whether, if these deductions were made, the revenue from land sales in the Province of Canada, from the cession in 1763 to the present time, would show a surplus.

Sir Stafford Northcote quotes the price of land in Minnesota, and thence infers the value of lands in the Red River and Saskatchewan districts, which lie from five to ten degrees further north, and are still in the possession of the wild Indians of the plain. But we think it will be found that the lands in Minnesota, which sell for "£1 per acre," are either private lands in the neighborhood of towns, or the property of railway companies, on or near which millions of dollars have been expended to make them saleable. They are certainly not PUBLIC lands unimproved by public expenditure. Sir Stafford ought to have mentioned at the same time a fact, which we believe is known to every emigrant who leaves the British Isles for America, that in the Western States of the Union, and in the Provinces of Canada, wild lands are now given to settlers as "free grants," and, we may add, this policy is more likely to be extended than reversed. To talk of the VALUE of public lands as a source of revenue, distant from one to two thousand miles from available markets, and without roads or navigable waters by which to approach them, is to contradict all experience, or to assume that the cost of surveys and management, and of canals, roads, and other improvements for their development and settlement, will be supplied by those who do not own them, for the benefit of those who do.

But in order to arrive at some result that can be expressed in figures, we will assume that the sum ascertained by the Duke of Newcastle to be a sufficient "compensation" would, under his proposition, have been paid within 50 years, and at an average rate per annum. We thus give the company the benefit of all the doubts in the case, and reduce the question to a simple problem in arithmetic: What is the present value of an annuity of £5,000 per annum for 50 years?

That value, we submit, is the highest amount in cash which can be claimed as an equivalent for the offer made to the company in 1864, by His Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

The next offer of the Imperial Government which mentions a specific sum, is that made by His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos,

on the 1st December last. It differs from the previous offer in several important particulars.

1. It embraces the WHOLE of the territory claimed by the company.
2. It proposes to allow the company to retain their "posts" and certain allotments of land in their vicinity, with a small reservation in each township as it is surveyed.
3. It proposes to allow the company one-quarter of the receipts from land (free grants being treated as sales at 1s. per acre), and one-quarter of the sum received by Government as an export duty for gold and silver.
4. It limits the amount to be received under these heads conjointly at £1,000,000 sterling.

The other stipulations are unimportant for the purpose of ascertaining the cash equivalent of the proposition.

It is evident that the "unknown quantities" in this equation are as difficult to find as in the first. We know the TOTAL sum to be paid, and the PROPORTION of the receipts from lands and mines applicable for its payment; but we do not know the average annual sum likely to be realized from their sale. The minimum price is fixed at 1s. per acre, and it is doubtful if, under the proposed arrangement, the price would ever be found to exceed that sum. There is one term still to be entertained—the average NUMBER of acres per annum, likely to be sold and granted. A crude guess is all that the case admits of. If we take Upper Canada, possessing many advantages for early and rapid settlement of which, unfortunately, the remote territories of the Northwest are deprived, we find that from its erection into a separate Province, down to 1868, about 22,000,000 acres had been disposed of by sale and grant, or an average of about 286,000 acres per annum.

Assuming that the same rate of sale, etc., is maintained in the Northwest Territories (which all the old Hudson's Bay authorities who know the country would pronounce a bold assumption), we have reduced the question to a simple reference to the annuity tables as before, viz.: What is the present value of an annuity of £3,575 per annum for 280 years?

We have omitted from the last term the one-fourth of the Government receipts from gold and silver, for two reasons. 1st. It has not been shown that there are any gold or silver mines in the territory that will pay for working. 2nd. All the attempts heretofore made to obtain a revenue from such sources in Canada have failed, and public



opinion has forced the local governments to adopt the policy of what may be called "free mining," or cheap lands for the miners, and abolition of royalties and imposts, except to meet the cost of preserving the peace, and of surveys and necessary supervision.

There is another proposition on the Government side, which bears on the question of "compensation." It results from the agreement between the representatives of the Government of Canada and Her Majesty's Government in 1865, and containing fewer elements of uncertainty than propositions which involve questions of Government policy, emigration, land sales, etc., it can be reduced to a cash value with greater exactitude.

Mr. Cardwell describes the agreement as follows: "On the fourth point, the subject of the Northwestern Territory, the Canadian Ministers desired that that territory should be made over to Canada, and undertook to negotiate with the Hudson's Bay Company for the termination of their rights, on condition that the indemnity, if any, should be paid by a loan to be raised by Canada under the Imperial guarantee. With the sanction of the Cabinet we assented to this proposal—undertaking, that if the negotiation should be successful, we, on the part of the Crown, being satisfied that the amount of the indemnity was reasonable, and the security sufficient, would apply to the Imperial Parliament to sanction the agreement, and to guarantee the amount."

The Canadian delegates reported on the subject with a little more detail. "We accordingly proposed to the Imperial Ministers that the whole British territory east of the Rocky Mountains and north of the American or Canadian lines should be made over to Canada, subject to such rights as the Hudson's Bay Company might be able to establish, and that the compensation to that company (if any were found to be due) should be met by a loan guaranteed by Great Britain. The Imperial Government consented to this, and a careful investigation of the case satisfies us that the compensation to the Hudson's Bay Company cannot, under any circumstances, be onerous. It is but two years since the present Hudson's Bay Company purchased the entire property of the old company; they paid £1,500,000 for the entire property and assets, in which were included a large sum of cash on hand, large landed properties in British Columbia and elsewhere, not included in our arrangement, a very large claim against the United States Government under the Oregon Treaty; and ships, goods, pelts, and business premises in England and Canada, valued at £1,023,569. The value of

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VICTORIA, B. C.

the territorial rights of the company, therefore, in the estimation of the company itself, will be easily arrived at."

The principle which this agreement between the two Governments recognizes as applicable to the case, appears to be,—compensation in money, for the ascertained rights of the company, after deducting the value of the property retained by them. The words "if any," and "if any were found to be due," import that, in the opinion of both parties, it was possible, if not probable, that after making the deductions, no compensation would be "due."

The basis of the calculation which seems to have been made, or agreed upon, is very simple. The old Hudson's Bay Company had recently sold all the rights and property of the company, of every description, for the sum of £1,500,000. An inventory, agreed to by both sellers and purchasers, set down the assets, exclusive of "Territorial Rights," as follows :

- |   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| 1. The assets (exclusive of Nos. 2 and 3) of the Hudson's Bay Company, recently, and specially valued by competent valuers, at..... | £1,023,569       |
| 2. The landed territory (not valued),   |                  |
| 3. A cash balance of.....   | 370,000          |
|   | <hr/> £1,393,569 |

On the face of their own statement, £1,500,000, LESS the above sum, or £106,431, was the amount which the new purchasers actually paid for the "Landed Territory." Under the agreement of 1865, this seems to be the highest sum which Mr. Cardwell and the representatives of the Canadian Government thought could, in any event, be demanded by the company as indemnity or compensation for the surrender of the rights they "would be able to establish."

We have thus attempted to convert into their equivalents in cash the two offers made to the company since 1857 by the Imperial Government, and to ascertain the amount of the indemnity contemplated by Mr. Cardwell and the Canadian delegates in the arrangements of 1865. To arrive at any result, we have had to assume figures which, according to our experience, the facts of a new country will be more likely to reduce than to increase. We have also omitted conditions either implied or expressed in the proposals of 1864 and 1868, which we believe would have imposed considerable expense upon the company.

This is another mode of estimating the amount to be paid, on the principle of compensating for actual loss only, which remains to be considered.

The stock of the company has for some time been quoted at an average of 13½. The capital is, nominally, £2,000,000, and the shares £20,—the value of the stock, therefore, in cash, assuming that the whole of it could be sold at the market rate, is £1,350,000, or £43,569 LESS than the value, according to their own estimate, in 1863, of the company's assets, EXCLUSIVE of the "landed territory." The money obtained from the public for shares, beyond the £1,500,000 paid to the old shareholders, will no doubt be amply sufficient to make good any deficiency in the valuation of 1863.

From a consideration of these data we submit, that, if the validity of the Charter is not now to be questioned; if the territorial extent of the country affected by it is not to be defined; if the claim of Canada to include within her boundaries a large portion, if not the whole, of the country occupied by the French at the time of the cession in 1763, is not to be investigated, and finally determined,—if the admitted incapacity and the notorious neglect of the company to perform the duties of Government (which were part of the consideration for the RIGHTS conceded by the Charter), are not to be taken as sufficient on public grounds to justify cancellation and re-entry by the Crown,—then the very highest indemnity which ought to be paid, in cash, for a surrender of the territorial claims of the company, with the reservations and other privileges offered by His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, is the sum indicated by the foregoing computations.

We must, in conclusion, express to Earl Granville, our strong conviction that no MONEY offer, which either the Imperial or the Canadian Government would deem reasonable, will be accepted by the company, and that to delay the organization of constitutional government in the Northwest Territory until the Hudson's Bay Company consent to reasonable terms of surrender, is to hinder the success of Confederation in British America, and to imperil the interests and authority of the British Crown in the territories now occupied by the company.

We therefore respectfully submit for Earl Granville's consideration, whether it is not expedient that the Address of the Canadian Parliament be at once acted upon, under the authority of the Imperial Act of 1867.

But if His Lordship should see any sufficient legal or other objection to that course, then we ask, on behalf of the Dominion Government, for the immediate transfer to that Government of the "Northwest Territory," or all that part of British North America, from Canada on the East, to British Columbia, Alaska, and the Arctic Ocean, on the West and North, not heretofore validly granted to, and now held by "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay," by virtue of a Charter of King Charles II., issued about the year 1670.

We have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servants,

(Signed)

GEO. ET. CARTIER.

WM. MACDOUGALL.

SIR FREDERIC ROGERS, Bart.,

Etc., Etc., Etc.,

Colonial Office.

The Hudson's Bay Company, at last convinced that Canada was no longer inclined to be dealt with as if bargaining for private interests—when in reality the destiny of half a continent was trembling in the balance—came to understand that they were about to let their last opportunity slip, wisely concluded to accept the ridiculously favorable conditions offered to them, and hand over to Canada, through her Majesty's Government, all their rights, whatever they might be, in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories. The conditions entered into are set forth in the following

### MEMORANDUM.

DETAILS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE DELEGATES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DOMINION AND THE DIRECTORS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

1. It is understood that in surrendering to Her Majesty all the rights, etc., of the company in any part of British North America, not comprised in Rupert's Land, Canada, or British Columbia, the company are to retain the posts they actually occupy in the Northwest Territory.

2. It is understood that it will be a sufficient act of Selection under Article III. that the company should, within twelve months, name the number of acres which they will require adjoining each post; the actual survey to be proceeded with, with all convenient speed.

3. It is understood that in the Red River settlement, the size of the blocks to be retained round Upper Fort Garry shall not exceed (ten) acres, and that round Lower Fort Garry shall not exceed (three hundred) acres.

4. It is understood that a list of the stations round which the company will require blocks of land, with the size of the blocks they will require, shall be made out forthwith and communicated to the Canadian Ministers.

5. It is understood that Article V. shall be construed to mean that the blocks shall front the river or road by which means of access are provided, and shall be approximately in the form of parallelograms, of which the frontage shall not be more than half the depth.

6. It is understood that the company may defer the exercise of their right of claiming their proportion of each township for not more than ten years after it is set out; but their claim must be limited to an allotment from the lands remaining unsold at the time they declare their intention to make it.

7. It is understood that the blank in Article VI. shall be filled up with eight cents (Canadian).

8. It is understood that any claims of Indians to compensation for lands required for purposes of settlement, shall be disposed of by the Canadian Government in communication with the Imperial Government, and that the company shall be relieved of all responsibility in respect of them.

STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE,

G. E. CARTIER.

W. MACDOUGALL.

March 22, 1869.

In 1869 the Parliament of Canada accepted the surrender under the Imperial Act (31 and 32 Vic., Cap. CV.). In 1870, the Parliament of Canada by (33 Vic. Cap. III)—out of the Northwest Territory—instead of admitting the Northwest Territory—took a little scrap—under their bargain with Louis Riel, who—acting under the advice and instructions of deeper schemers than

ever he was—wanted to have a French colony planted in the centre of the continent—and called it “THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

At the time (1862) of the negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and the Hudson's Bay Company, there was already a Government established in “The Northwest Territory;” a Government regularly constituted, exercising all the powers and possessing all the attributes of a Government; and that Government established rules and laws in relation to the lands of the Government of Assiniboia, decided how much land a settler should be entitled to as a homestead, outside of the Red River Settlement; a Government that prescribed the amount of duties that should be paid on imports from foreign countries, and collected such duties and enforced the Revenue Laws; a Government that exercised sovereign jurisdiction in the establishment of courts, holding Civil and Criminal jurisdiction; appointed Judges and Magistrates and prescribed their powers and jurisdiction, and paid their salaries; a Government that, through their Courts and Judges so established and appointed, exercised sovereign power in cases of felony doomed the felon to death and caused the sentence to be carried into execution. That Government was still in existence and exercising all its constitutional rights at the time (7th October, 1868) when the Canadian delegates went to England to arrange the “Terms for the acquisition by Canada of Rupert's Land” and to arrange “for the admission of the Northwest Territory into union with Canada, either with or without Rupert's Land as may be found practicable and expedient.” At that time there was a population of fourteen thousand British subjects living under the laws of England and devotedly loyal to Her Majesty and to the flag of the Empire—a people who in their Churches on Sunday's offered up their prayers for the Queen, and in their everyday life lived in the respect of the laws of the British Nation. But what cared the soulless “Company of adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay” for the truth, the loyalty or the rights of Her Majesty's subjects in the Northwest Territory of Canada? They

were greedy for money only, with which to declare large dividends on their lately WATERED STOCK. What cared Canada, only to extend her own boundaries across the continent from ocean to ocean, and the statesmen of the Empire, what did they know about the patient, loyal settlers away up in that great wilderness, the Northwest—who were so meek in their loyalty to the British Crown—nothing, or less than nothing, their sole knowledge being filtered through Hudson Bay Company officials. What could the poor settlers do to secure their rights; 700 miles away from the nearest railway station; 1600 miles away from Ottawa; 5000 miles away from England, with sometimes a monthly mail, but without any certainty of it? They were isolated from the world and almost entirely at the mercy of "THE COMPANY OF ADVENTURERS OF ENGLAND TRADING INTO HUDSON'S BAY." All they could do they did do. They petitioned to Ottawa and asked for justice and protection; they called meetings and protested against being sold to Canada like live stock; they used threats in a feeble way; but they were treated with sovereign contempt throughout. The negotiations went on. A great corporation wanted money and advantages; and to be relieved from the cost and responsibility of Government. Canada wanted to extend her sway across the Continent. The statesmen of the British Empire, with their foresight, well knew that the present greatness, and to a very great extent, the future existence and supremacy of Britain's Colonial Empire depended on the consolidation of the great Northwest as a part of the Dominion of Canada, and as a necessary result to complete confederation the construction of a great military highway within British territory from Halifax to British Columbia, which, in the event of war with Russia, would be of far greater importance to the Empire than the Suez Canal, which cost her so many millions sterling; and the negotiations were concluded. A few murmurs had been heard from, the loyal subjects of Her Majesty up there, it is true, but then they were so faint and powerless no one took any heed of them. Canada had bought the land and the live stock from the company

and Canada sent her agent—a Governor—and his council of seven ready made statesmen from Ottawa, to govern the Northwest. Then it was that the French Halfbreeds, a portion of the neglected and abused, but still loyal subjects of Her Majesty, whose humble petitions and remonstrances had been treated with neglect, by all the parties to the bargain, determined not to be sold as chattles along with the land their forefathers had occupied and tilled for over 60 years, they took arms in their hands, overthrew the Government of Assiniboia, took possession of Fort Garry and made a stand against the mercenary hucksters, "The Company of adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay," and against the purchasers of themselves and their lands. Who could blame them? A handful of French halfbreeds, aroused to action, determined to dispute the right of the vendors to sell and of the purchasers to take possession of their illegal purchase, and they were pronounced REBELS. Rebels against whom? Not against the British Crown, the Scotch and Irish settlers would not permit that. Not against the Government of Canada—she had no jurisdiction there—she was only buying a title, although she dispatched a Governor and Cabinet from Ottawa to take possession of and rule over what was not yet hers, and impudently issued a spurious proclamation in Her Majesty's name, and authorized a conservator of the peace to murder all who should dare to oppose the power of Canada in her semi-filibustering expedition into the Northwest, and that conservator of the peace entered into negotiations with the Savages to make war on the subjects of Her Majesty, in Her Majesty's name. Against whom, then, were the Halfbreeds rebels? Why they were rebels against the Government of Assiniboia, which had proved too weak or too servile towards its masters to defend and maintain its own dignity and the people's rights. Then there must have been a Government or there could have been no rebels. The Governor from Canada was forbidden to enter on or take possession of the purchase. Canada was informed of the fact by the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Canada became alarmed and asked for British troops to beat the rebels into subjection. Where was



the Government of Assiniboia during all this time? It was overthrown by the Halfbreed rebels. It was too powerless or too apathetic to demand the rights of a Government from the contracting parties during the negotiations. Now in the hour of trial, it was too weak to quell the uprising of an outraged people, and Louis Riel and the Halfbreed's declared it at an end and formed a Rebel Provisional Government to defend the rights of the colony. When Canada's demand for British troops was received in England, Her Majesty's Government became aware, apparently for the first time, that there were British subjects in the Northwest, and in arms to defend their rights—the rights of British subjects—Canada was informed that no soldier of Britain would be sent to subjugate a British colony and make its loyal subjects slaves, at the point of the bayonet. Canada was peremptorily told that until the vested rights of the people were secured to them no action could be permitted on the part of the Government of Canada to compel them to submit to injustice. Then it was, and then only, that Canada found out that she must respect, or pretend to respect, the rights of the loyal people of Red River. Had Canada, even at that late hour, taken the trouble to become—as they ought to have been long before they undertook to negotiate with the Hudson Bay Company—acquainted with the fact that a legal government existed in the Northwest, although now for the moment suppressed by the superior, but illegal force of the rebels, Canada would not have fallen into the fatal blunderings that followed, and ended in the murder of a British subject, and in plunging the new Dominion into a couple of millions of dollars expense for a military expedition to over-awe the Colonists and force them into Confederation at the point of the bayonet. Instead of this, Canada sent emissaries to the rebel leader, Riel, and negotiated with him for peace on terms to be agreed on. The Government of the country was never consulted, never thought of. Canada made all the haste she could to pacify Riel and his Provisional Government; invited him to send delegates to Ottawa to treat with Canada. Riel did send delegates, and his ambassadors were recognized and re-

ceived at Ottawa to arrange about the terms on which peace could be purchased, and the Northwest taken possession of by Canadian officials. Had Cromwell,—when he rose in rebellion and by force of arms subverted the Government of Great Britain, and after taking the life of the King declared himself Lord Protector,—sold, or confederated, or united Ireland, Scotland or Wales, to or with France or Spain, would the Monarchy of Great Britain, after the restoration of her legitimate King and Government, hold herself bound by the act of the Rebel Cromwell? and acknowledge the sale, or confederation, or union made by him as valid and binding? Certainly not. Louis Riel, the rebel, and his Provisional Government, after subverting the the lawful power and authority of the Government of Assiniboia by force of arms, and after taking the life of one of Her Majesty's loyal subjects, sent delegates to Ottawa to treat with Canada, and a peace was patched up between Canada and Louis Riel. Was the Government of Assiniboia, or were, or are the loyal subjects of Her Majesty in the Northwest Territory bound by the Rebel Louis Riel's arrangement with Canada? Most undoubtedly not. Consider who were the delegates sent by Riel to treat with the Government at Ottawa: Mr. Black, a servant of the Hudson's Bay Company, an old man tottering on the brink of the grave, which closed over him within a few short months after; the second was Mr. Ritchot, a French parish priest—who was an active leader among the rebels; and the third—Scott—was an unknown adventurer, who was not even a British subject, and who has never been heard of from that time to the present. Is it to be wondered at that an arrangement patched up through such means has never been satisfactory? Nor will it ever be satisfactory to the people of Manitoba until they shall have had a full and fair opportunity of treating for their rights in a constitutional manner, through representatives constitutionally elected for that purpose by a vote of the whole electorate of the Province. Let us now consider the arrangement entered into between Riel's delegates and the Government of Canada. The delegates, such

as they were, had been instructed to demand a Bill of Rights, two of the clauses of which were as follows:

CLAUSE I—"That the Territories heretofore known as Rupert's Land and the Northwest, shall not enter into the Confederation of the Dominion of Canada, except as a Province, to be styled and known as the Province of Assiniboia, and with all the rights and privileges common to the different Provinces of the Dominion."

CLAUSE XI—"That the Local Legislature of the Province of Assiniboia shall have full control over all the public lands of the Province, and the right to annul all acts or arrangements made or entered into with reference to the public lands of Rupert's Land and the Northwest, now called the Province of Assiniboia."

No discretionary power was given the delegates to alter the demands set forth in the Bill of Rights. Notwithstanding this fact, it will be seen that, taking advantage of the ignorance of the delegates, the Government of Canada, without any color of right, completely ignored the Bill of Rights, and carved out of the Northwest Territory one little corner, and called it the Province of Manitoba; deprived the bantling Province of all its lands and all other sources of revenue, and in their stead gave the following magnificent return: For the support of the Government, \$30,000 per annum; 80 cents per head on a population of 17,000 souls, \$13,600; 5 per cent. on a capital of \$470,090, \$23,600; amounting in all to the grand total of \$67,204.50, or in round numbers £13,500 sterling, per annum, to support and maintain all the paraphernalia and tinsel dignity of a Government! With a Governor in Windsor uniform; a Ministry of 5; two Houses of Parliament, consisting of 7 members in the Upper and 24 in the Lower House. Out of this magnificent sum the new Province was expected to erect Court Houses and support the expenses of the administration of civil and criminal justice, to establish and support a police force, build roads and bridges throughout the Province, and, in fact, to meet all the expenses of a Government. Is it to be wondered at that the whole thing has proved a failure, and must end in disaster to all con-

cerned? Was it honorable on the part of the Government of Canada to take advantage of the weakness of an isolated and simple people and attempt to bind them by such a one-sided and dishonest arrangement? "Manitoba was forced into Confederation, figuratively speaking, at the point of the bayonet, and the people submitted to the conditions imposed on them, not knowing the extent of the responsibilities they were assuming, and confident that in any event they would be treated with full and impartial British justice in dealing with the Federal authorities. They knew that, as the last resort, there was the appeal to the foot of the Throne; and if that step has not been taken, it is because of the reluctance of the people to take that final step in order to assert their rights." (Hear, hear.)—(See speech of the Hon. John Norquay, Premier of Manitoba, in the Legislative Assembly, April 16, 1884.) From the first moment of its existence the Province of Manitoba has protested against its treatment, and has never ceased to do so, and never will, till the whole terms are reconsidered and a fair and equitable settlement concluded between the Province and Canada. It is true, and it is to the credit of the Province, that it has struggled and staggered on under a load of increasing embarrassment in the attempt to make both ends meet, and to maintain peace, hoping against hope for a settlement. It is true that from year to year a small sum has been insultingly doled out to the Province, like charity to a pauper, by Canada to keep the people quiet, and to conceal from the Government of Her Majesty the fact that Manitoba is discontented and unsettled, and that a weak population is being most systematically despoiled of its just rights. We propose to prove by figures the unfairness of our treatment by the Dominion Government; that we are being ground down to fill the coffers of the Dominion, receiving no just or adequate return for all that is taken from us.

In answer to the demand of the Province of Manitoba for an extension of boundaries, the Dominion Government answered: "The boundaries of Manitoba were originally fixed at the instance of the delegates from that province, who came to Ottawa in the

year 1870, to adjust, with the Government of Canada, the terms upon which Manitoba was to enter the Confederation of Her Majesty's North American Provinces." The people of Manitoba do not acknowledge, but, on the contrary, most emphatically deny this statement. There was no Province of Manitoba in existence at the time that Riel was invited by the Government of Canada to send delegates to Ottawa—they were Riel's delegates; nor did they pretend to represent the Government or the loyal people of Assiniboia. They were the delegates of the RIEL PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, which was never recognized by the loyal population of the Northwest, nor were they ever empowered to represent those people, a large number of whom were languishing in prison, as Riel's prisoners, because of their loyalty, even while some of Riel's friends were at work in Ottawa trying to shield him and his followers from the consequence of his and their rebellious acts; and the fact is shown by their demands at Ottawa; one of the first, if not the very first, condition they demanded was the proclamation of an amnesty for Riel and his rebel followers. The loyal population of the present Province of Manitoba positively repudiate any and all arrangements made and entered into by the Government of Canada and Riel's delegates in 1870, under which the Dominion Government confiscated the whole of the lands of the loyal people of the Northwest, considering the claims of the half-breeds and Indians only, and by that means not only deprived us of our only source of revenue, but further to complete the injustice of their whole proceeding, inflicted upon us the insupportable burden of a "Protective Tariff," amounting, on an average, to 35 per cent. on all imported goods, and all this for the benefit of the Federal treasury; whereas the tariff of Assiniboia was very moderate indeed, but it belonged to the people of the colony. The tariff of Assiniboia was only 4 per cent., except on whiskey or spirits, which paid 1s. per gallon. Now, instead of 4 per cent., Manitoba, under the Protective Tariff, has to pay an average of 35 per cent. to the Dominion, and even as high as 100 per cent. on staples of absolute necessity to the people of this non-manufacturing, but almost

exclusively, agricultural community; and the farmers of the country—lured here by the splendid advantages held out to them—find themselves so ground down by taxation in innumerable forms—Municipal tax,

### SCHOOL LANDS.

School tax, a tax, which no one coming to Manitoba had the least possible reason to expect they would ever be called on to pay, seeing that the Dominion Government, in their immigration pamphlets, which are scattered broadcast over the Dominion of Canada, Great Britain and the European continent, proclaims to the world, as one of the principal, among the many great inducements held out to immigrants, "The magnificent provision made by the Government, to provide for the education of children, by the very liberal grants of land set apart for that purpose, and which are sufficient to meet the educational wants of the country for all time." And now every Farmer in Manitoba finds himself with a mortgage on his land—to pay from 7 to 10 per cent. interest per annum on bonds issued to build School Houses. So much for the good faith of the Government of Canada in regard to the School Lands of Manitoba and for the intelligence and liberality with which this most "Sacred Trust" is mismanaged by the Government at Ottawa, "Affording greater security for a trust deliberately and voluntarily set apart by the Dominion Government as sacred to the education of the children of settlers." (See reply of the sub Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council of Canada to the demand of Manitoba to be allowed control of her School Lands. "Then there is the "Judicial District Tax," and the indirect and illegal taxes levied on the people in the shape of Law Stamps, such as, have been declared illegal and "ultra vires," not being authorized under the British North America Act, 1867, by judgment of Her Majesty's Privy Council in the case of Reed vs. Roy and Prothonotary of Superior Courts Montreal, not to call attention to

many other objectionable taxes levied on the people, all rendered to a certain extent necessary through the province being deprived of all her natural and legitimate sources of revenue by the terms of the Manitoba Act, 1870.

### PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

And to cap the climax of exorbitant and excessive taxation we have forced upon us—an exclusively agricultural people—the crushingly oppressive “PROTECTIVE TARIFF” of the Dominion, under which we pay out yearly in Import and Excise duties more than the entire value of our wheat export—our only source of wealth. This is no exaggeration, it is the solemn truth. Here are the figures (the quantity and value of the wheat being calculated at the maximum):

Wheat export from the Province of Manitoba in

1882—	750,000 Bushels, value 70c.....	\$ 515,000
1883—	1,250,000     “     “     40c.....	500,000
1884—	2,000,000     “     “     60c.....	1,200,000
Total for 3 years.....		\$2,215,000

Paid by the Province of Manitoba in customs and excise duties directly at her own ports of entry:

Year.	Customs.	Excise.	Cost of Collection.	Nett.
1882—	\$1,055,505.46	\$157,411.85	\$22,619.73	\$1,190,297.58
1883—	1,765,490.48	185,367.42	58,096.28	1,892,761.62
1884—	673,519.91	157,417.99	64,088.46	766,849.44
Total for 3 years.....				\$3,848,908.64

Value of Wheat exported in 3 years.....\$2,215,000.00

Amount paid in Revenue in excess of Wheat export in 3 years.....\$1,634,908.64

In other words the unfortunate Farmers of Manitoba have been obliged under the “Protective Tariff” to pay \$544,969.54 a year into the Treasury of Canada in Customs and Excise Duties—more than the whole value of their wheat crop.

It must be remembered that Manitoba buys more dutiable goods from the Eastern Provinces, on which the duties are paid

—at Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton and London, and charged to the Manitoba buyer, by the importer—than the whole amount collected at her own ports, from year to year. This would more than double the amount of duties paid by Manitoba under the Protective Tariff, as shown in the Dominion Customs returns, so that for every dollars worth of wheat the Farmer of Manitoba sells, the Government of the Dominion charges him about THREE dollars for the glorious privilege of being called a Canadian, and of being forced into Confederation to work like a slave to earn money to build railways and canals, and to nurse manufactures, in and for the Eastern Provinces. Such unprecedented injustice must—if persisted in—end in disaster.

The burden of taxation at present weighing down the agricultural and working population of the province is so great that farmers can but hope, if blessed with good crops for some years to come, and the working man, if he can get constant employment, to be able to meet the tax collector and the Protective Tariff, the one bleeding him directly and the other indirectly, till his whole substance is drained from him, and he is left at the mercy of the money lender and the sheriff. Among those who feel this system of taxation is "The Hudson's Bay Company," whether taken in its commercial or in its proprietary character. We venture to say that on its lands, within the Province of Manitoba alone, the Hudson's Bay Company is paying more in direct taxation to the various municipalities than would amount to a rate of interest equal to at least 10 per cent. per annum on the proportion of the £300,000 represented by Manitoba, which that company originally received from Canada. On the 4th February last a deputation of the principal land owners in the province waited on the Premier, Hon. John Norquay, to expostulate with the Government on the present excessive and oppressive system of Municipal taxation in this province. The deputation was composed of such gentlemen as C. J. Brydges, Esquire, the Hudson's Bay Company's Land Commissioner: W. B. Scarth, Esquire, representing the North-



west Land Company; Sedley Blanchard, Esquire, Q.C., representing the interests of many of the largest estates and investors in the province; and Messrs, Bathgate, McKilligan, McArthur, Hespler, and many others, all largely interested in lands in Manitoba. The deputation informed the Government that on unoccupied lands the taxes amounted to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  cents per acre, that the cost of salaries and law expenses under the municipal system amounted to about \$100,000 yearly, improved lands pay as high as 15 cents per acre, in addition to which the farmer has to pay taxes on all his stock and improvements, machinery, etc. The deputation informed Mr. Norquay that a considerable number of people from the country districts had voluntarily come forward on hearing of the movement which was taking place in Winnipeg, to express their hope that the excessive taxation now being collected might be very greatly diminished, because they were satisfied that if the present rate of municipal taxation was to go on, they would be compelled to give up their farms and leave the country. As an evidence of this feeling among the farmers, the attention of the Premier was called to a resolution passed at the late meeting of the Farmers' Union, held in Winnipeg, at which the present system of municipal taxation was stated to be excessive, and that it was absolutely necessary to make heavy reductions under that head."

From the returns which are at hand, although not complete, it appears that \$500,000 are annually collected in direct taxes by the municipalities of Manitoba, over three-fifths of which are paid by the farmers of the country, or at the rate of about 20 per cent. of the whole value of their wheat crop every year, in addition to the amount paid by them under "THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF" of the Dominion, under which the farmers and people of Manitoba and the incoming immigrants or settlers are so excessively and oppressively taxed. At the Farmers' Union Convention, held at Winnipeg, Mr. Kenneth McKenzie, President of the Board of Trade, gave statistics, showing how peculiarly hard, the duty on canned fruits and vegetables pressed on the

people of this country, inasmuch as all fruits, green or canned, have to be imported, and are taxed as follows:

## CANNED FRUITS.

Canned Apples,	3 cents per pound	58 per cent.
" Gooseberries,	3 " "	60 "
" Pears,	3 " "	62½ "
" Strawberries,	3 " "	84 "
" Peaches,	3 " "	74c. to \$1.05

## CANNED VEGETABLES.

Canned Tomatoes,	2 cents per pound	78 per cent.
" Corn,	2 " "	80 "
" Peas,	2 " "	88 "

N. B.—The weight of the can is always included.

Jams—5 cents per pound, equal to..... 60 "

Dried Fruits—Currants, Raisins, etc..... 20 "

The present specific duty on Canned Fruits and Vegetables, runs from 45 to 116 per cent. on the original cost of the article, and this reprehensible duty is ground out of the people of Manitoba and the Northwest, to "protect" the profits of half a dozen of canning companies, in the Eastern Provinces of the Dominion, and compel us to pay twice the value of a first class article, for a very inferior one, and even then to be cheated in weight.

The Tariff, on other indispensable articles necessary for the settler, is most oppressive, as the following list shows:

Blankets, Woollen Cloths and Flannels, 7½ cents  
per pound, and ..... 20 per cent. ad. val.

Woollen Clothing and Knitted Goods, 10 cents  
per pound, and..... 25 " "

This tremendous tax on woollen good, a necessity of life, in a country where from November to March the thermometer ranges from ° away down to 30, or even 40 below °, is simply cruel.

Agricultural Implements, Waggons and other Vehicles .. 35 per cent

Furniture ..... 35 "

Lumber (which every settler must have to build his shanty). 20 "

Tubs, Churns, Pails, etc. .... 25 "

And other staple articles are taxed proportionately high under the "Protective Tariff." By this list it will be seen that the

immigrant or settler, coming to Manitoba with limited means—and it is not the possession of excessive wealth that drives the farmer to change his home—is met at the frontier of our Province and stripped of all the little store of scrapings and earnings that he has in ready money—in the purchase of lumber and other necessary articles, without which he cannot attempt to face his first winter in the country, or turn a sod in preparation for his first crop in the following spring; and on the food necessary for himself and family he has to pay, in most instances, one-and-a-half times its real value, and in many instances, even on articles of absolute necessity to life, he has to pay twice the actual value. For instance, if he should wish to give his wife and little ones a cup of tea once a day, or sweeten their porridge, to make it palatable, he has the pleasing satisfaction of knowing that he is contributing to the support of some princely sugar refiner in the Eastern Provinces, by paying a tax of 45 per cent. on the sugar he uses. These stubborn facts do not tell well for the Dominion of Canada. It looks like inducing immigrants to come here to despoil them. To publish the truth about these grievances and impositions, and to demand their reform is called treason to the Dominion, and "The Farmers' Union of Manitoba and the Northwest" must be silent and not demand any redress of such grievances. They are blind; cannot they see that the Government of the Dominion heaps on all these taxes in the interest of Manitoba! and to encourage immigration to this country!! and particularly to make the farmers prosperous, happy, contented and independent! No, the farmers cannot see it.

This excessive amount of taxation under the Protective Tariff is levied on the people of Manitoba for the purpose of fostering trade and building up manufactures in the Eastern Provinces, and as Manitoba is exclusively an agricultural country, it is of no benefit to her, but is, on the contrary, a crushing weight which she has to carry, and is calculated to ruin her farmers and drive them out of the country unless a fair share of what she thus pays into the coffers of the general Government be given back to her in the shape of a fair annual subsidy, which will

assist her in defraying the expenses of Government—which must of necessity be very great in proportion to population in a new country, where everything has to be created.—Deprived of her Lands, Mines and Timber, in fact of every source of revenue except direct taxation, which, as shown above, is already stretched beyond all reasonable or endurable limits, Manitoba has but one recourse left. All these heavy and ruinous burdens bring home to the people—through the sheriffs' sales and land sales for taxes, and through the staring windows and open doors, and the smokeless chimneys, and the roofless and deserted homes that—we grieve to have to say it, but the truth must be told—are the order of the day throughout the Province from one end to the other—and unless a re-consideration and adjustment of the whole financial arrangements of the Province with the Dominion be speedily made, nothing remains for the agricultural population but to choose between two alternatives, the first of which is, to give up the unequal struggle they have been making for years past, and—in the words of the editor of the Toronto "Mail"—(the leading Conservative paper and organ of the Dominion Government)—when he was a resident of Manitoba two years ago, and editing the "Times," of Winnipeg—"LEAVE THE COUNTRY WITH A CURSE" and seek new homes away from the impoverished and down-taxed Province of Manitoba, or choose the other alternative, and—following out the suggestion of the Premier of Manitoba, HON. JOHN NORQUAY, who in his budget speech in the Legislative Assembly on the 16th April, 1884 (Page II.), said: "If THIS IS TO BE THE POSITION OF MANITOBA IN CONFEDERATION, THEN I AM AFRAID THAT CONFEDERATION WILL SOON BE A THING OF THE PAST AS FAR AS MANITOBA IS CONCERNED."—Secede from Dominion Confederation, and ask Her Majesty to give us the status of a CROWN COLONY, which would place us in a position of financial independence, and allow us the opportunity of proving by acts that we are not of the lip-loyal kind of subjects of Her Majesty, but that our loyalty takes into consideration the interests of the whole British people.

at home, as well as our own. Dominion loyalty to the Empire is like Dominion justice to Manitoba, it is utterly selfish; it consists in treating the British merchant and Manufacturer with the same selfishness as she does other foreign nations, charging them on an average 35 per cent. import duty on all their goods and manufactured articles. Manitoba, as a Crown Colony, would act more like British subjects, and would offer to the British merchant and manufacturer FREE TRADE, in return for Britain's sympathy and encouragement, making foreign nations pay the duties necessary to give us enough to defray our expenses of government; GIVING FREE TRADE EXCLUSIVELY TO OUR FELLOW SUBJECTS IN GREAT BRITAIN, and it would then be to the interest of British capitalists to give us the means, at a reasonable rate of interest, to construct a

#### RAILWAY TO HUDSON'S BAY

by means of which we could send our millions of bushels of grain to the British market in return for their goods and manufactures. The wheat crop of Manitoba can be increased to 100,000,000 of bushels a year. About 13 per cent. of our land sown to wheat would produce that amount. All that is required to attain that end within a few years, is to secure to our farmers by cheap transportation to the Liverpool market, a remunerative price for their crops. The Hudson's Bay route would place us nearer the English market by 570 miles than we are at present by way of the St. Lawrence, notwithstanding the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Lake route. The selfish interest of the Dominion is to keep Manitoba's grain export, tributary to the Eastern Provinces, so that every bushel of our wheat shall pay toll to them, and furnish freight for their railway and steamship lines—at our expense, and to compel us to buy all our supplies from them at whatever price they demand, and to pay such rates of freight as the Canada Pacific Railway thinks fit to charge, that company having a monopoly of all our freight for twenty years. From Winnipeg to Montreal, the nearest ocean shipping port, is 1,411 miles; Quebec, 1,591; Halifax, 2,285; from Winnipeg to Hudson's Bay the distance is less than 700 miles. Winnipeg to

Liverpool, via Hudson's Bay, is 570 miles nearer than from Winnipeg to Liverpool via Montreal and the Straits of Bell-Isle, and 770 miles nearer than via Montreal and Cape Race, while it is 1,052 miles nearer than by way of New York. The next advantage secured would be in promoting the second great industry of the Northwest—the extensive cattle ranches—could drive their herds from their grazing ranges on board the steamers at Hudson's Bay and ship them to England. These few facts show at a glance, the immense advantage—both to the farmer of Manitoba and to the British grain buyer, Merchant and Manufacturer—of the speedy establishment of the Hudson's Bay route. Whatever nation controls the Hudson's Bay route, will control the whole carrying trade of the great Northwest of Canada, and of all the Western States and Territories of the United States between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains. The Hudson's Bay route will revolutionize the whole carrying trade of the northwestern part of the American continent. The commerce of the great Northwest will naturally flow through that great inland sea, just so surely as the great lakes and rivers of the Northwest find their outlet there. The petty selfish interests of the Importers and Manufacturers of Eastern Canada may, for a time, clog the wheels of progress, and smother the voice of Manitoba demanding her rights. Pitiful political party cries and necessities may, for a short season, blind the people of Eastern Canada to their own best interests as well as ours; but the finger of the God of nations points to the grand outlet which he inserted into the Northwest; that it should become the channel through which shall flow a glorious stream of golden wheat, from off the exhaustless prairies—that his Omnipotent hand has been cultivating and preparing for countless centuries—with which to feed the millions of his creatures in the Old World, who pray to Him for their Daily Bread. And the British Nation, if she would still remain mistress of the world, and rule the destinies of that future—and not very distant future—great nation of millions, that will people the vast, exhaustless grain fields of this Greater Britain—must, very soon, or it may be too late, stretch forth her maternal hand, and protect and guide and encourage the tottering

steps of her youngest daughter, struggling up to womanhood amid all the disadvantages heaped upon her by her more powerful but selfish sisters in the Confederation. From a purely commercial point of view the Hudson's Bay Railway would pay largely, for it must be remembered that on the shores of Hudson's Bay are inexhaustible mines of the finest quality of Iron ore, tossed up in huge masses almost, within view of rich mines of the finest anthracite coal. American Anthracite coal sells at \$12 to \$14 per ton in Winnipeg, Canadian Bituminous coal sells at \$7 per ton—the former comes from Pennsylvania, about 2000 miles, the latter from Medicine Hat, Northwest Territory, 660 to 700 miles, and the Hudson's Bay coal would be only about 680 miles from Winnipeg, and equal in quality to that from Pennsylvania. Valuable and extensive Pine Forests outline the shores to the South and East, whilst the waters of the bay itself teem with fish, affording to enterprising American whalers one of their richest fishing grounds.—(See report on the "Hudson's Bay and its resources," by Professor Bell, of the Geological Survey of Canada.) And, by the Hudson's Bay route, immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland could be landed in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories in a much shorter time, and at a very much cheaper rate than they can be by the St. Lawrence route; and as we desire to see our country filled up with our fellow subjects, we ardently hope and long for the time when they can leave their British homes and come here without running the risk, which they now do, of being diverted on their journey by American railroad and land agents, and induced to forego their allegiance to the old flag, and become citizens of the United States, as thousands of them are now induced to do every year by the spacious offers held out to them by American agents, who dog their steps every hour from the time they land on American soil until they get to their destination. The Hudson's Bay route would secure to the overflowing millions of British subjects a cheap and speedy means of securing homes on our own vast prairies, where they would be surrounded by their kindred, and live under similar laws and

institutions to those under which they were born, thus building up in the great Northwest a new and vigorous nation of Englishmen, loyal and true to the flag of their forefathers, and in close alliance to the heart of the great British people.—The Hudson's Bay route would hasten the realization of the hope, expressed by Her Majesty the Queen, in her Speech from the Throne, in reference to the creation of the Crown Colony of British Columbia, when she said: "I hope that this new colony in the Pacific may be but one step in the career of steady progress, by which my Dominion in North America may be ultimately peopled in an unbroken chain from the Atlantic to the Pacific,—by a loyal and industrious population of subjects of the British Crown."

The Legislature of Manitoba, fully convinced of the vital importance of this great natural route, to the Province and to the Empire, appointed a Committee of the House to inquire into and report upon the Hudson's Bay Route. The Report of the Committee is as follows: (Journals of the House, 22nd April, 1884).

"The Hon. Mr. Brown, from the Committee on the Hudson's Bay inquiry, presented their sixth report, which was read as follows:

Your Committee beg leave to report that they have met eleven times and have taken the evidence of the following witnesses:

Mr. John Moyes, Winnipeg; Mr. C. N. Bell, Winnipeg; Mr. H. Johnston, Winnipeg; Capt. W. Kennedy, Winnipeg; Capt. I. Hackland, Headingly; Mr. W. Stephenson, Headingly; Capt. Colin Sinclair, St. Andrews; Mrs. D. MacArthur, Winnipeg; Capt. H. Robinson, Winnipeg; Mr. W. Archibald, Winnipeg; Mr. W. Dickson, Lake Francis; Mr. John Hargrave, High Bluff; Mr. C. G. Drummond, Winnipeg; Ven. Archdeacon Cowley, Dynevor; James Ward, St. Annes; George A. Bayne, C. E., Winnipeg, and have received written testimony from many others.

Many of the gentlemen examined have had personal and extended experience as officers and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company at their posts on the Hudson's and Ungava Bays and the rivers entering into those bays.

No evidence has been given that goes to prove that Hudson's Straits and Bay proper, even freeze over, or that the ice met with in those waters is sufficient to prevent navigation at any time of the year.



That, consequently the period of navigation is defined by the time during which the ports, harbors, or roadsteads on the shores of the Bay can be entered by vessels of a suitable description for such navigation.

That from the evidence adduced it appears that such ports or harbors are open on an average from four and a-half to five months in each year to ordinary vessels.

That Hudson's Bay and Straits appear, from all evidence taken, to be singularly free from obstruction to navigation in the shape of shoals or reefs; and, during the period of open water, from storms or fogs.

That, while in the opinion of your Committee, sufficient evidence exists to prove the practicability of a route of communication with this Province, via Hudson's Bay, your Committee is glad to perceive that it is the intention of the Dominion Government to send an expedition to examine into the general question of the navigation of Hudson's Bay and Straits, and to obtain such information as will enable correct charts of the coasts and harbors to be constructed.

That, considering the paramount importance to this Province of such an investigation, your Committee advise that steps be taken by your Honorable House to secure a proper representation of this Province on such expedition.

Your Committee has also examined many persons familiar with the country between this Province and the Hudson's Bay, and has examined the reports of engineers and others, charged with the duty of making technical explorations of such country, and are of the opinion that no engineering difficulties exist which will prevent the construction of a line or lines from this Province to the shores of the Hudson's Bay.

Your Committee begs to draw the attention of your Honorable House to the immense commercial importance to this Province of the proposed route of communication, whether by rail and water, or by rail alone. They find that the area under cultivation in the States of Minnesota and Dakota, and in this Province, in 1882-3 aggregated nearly 9,000,000 acres, which produced a crop of all kinds of grain amounting to upwards of 80,000,000 bushels. One railway alone (the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba) carried southward 13,087,120 bushels of wheat and 370,010 barrels of flour, during the year ending the 30th June, 1883, and it is safe to assume that had the outlet via Hudson's Bay existed, at least one-half of this produce would have followed that channel to the seaboard.

Your Committee feels justified in assuming that this route would

be extensively availed of by the shippers of this country and the neighboring States of America in consequence of the fact that the distance from Winnipeg to Liverpool via Hudson's Bay is 570 miles less than from Winnipeg to Liverpool via Montreal and the Straits of Bell Isle, and 770 miles nearer than by way of Montreal and Cape Race, while it is 1052 miles nearer than by way of New York. By sea, Churchill Harbor is 64 miles nearer to Liverpool than is Montreal, and 113 miles nearer than New York.

Not only is the all rail route much shorter than by any other line, but nature has provided water ways from the head of navigation of the Red River to the foot of Lake Winnipeg, which can be utilized for over six months in each year, thus reducing the length of railway line to be traversed, to within 400 miles, or a less distance than from Winnipeg to Port Arthur.

Your Committee has, therefore, no reason to doubt that a railway from thence to Hudson's Bay will prove a successful and remunerative undertaking; and are satisfied that such an outlet will do more to stimulate production in this Province and the Northwest generally than any other enterprise."

If the Dominion of Canada would, as Manitoba demands, extend the Boundaries of the Province to Hudson's Bay, and give us the control of our Public Lands within the boundaries so extended, we believe that the Province could at once construct and control the Railway to Hudson's Bay—and thus secure the prosperity of the whole Northwest.

### "THE PUBLIC OR CROWN LANDS."

"The Manitoba and Northwest Farmers' Union," at their first Convention, at which delegates from all parts of the Province, and some from the Northwest, were present, representing every part of the country, having been duly appointed at public meetings convened for that purpose, unanimously adopted the "Declaration of Rights," which appears in the introduction hereto, (page iii.) The second of the demands under that declaration is:

"The absolute control of her Public Lands (including School

Lands) by the Legislature of the Province, and compensation for lands sold and used for Federal purposes."

The Union also appointed three Commissioners to proceed to Ottawa and present the claims of the Farmers of Manitoba to the Government. The report of the Commissioners appears in the Introduction. (page ii, et seq). It may simply be remarked that the Members of the Government treated the Commissioners with courtesy—with the exception of the Hon. Minister of Agriculture and Immigration, whose conduct was offensive in the extreme.

After a year's experience, and free public discussion, after thoroughly sounding the feelings of the population, the Government of Manitoba adopted the whole of the demands of "The Farmers' Union," and at the session of the Provincial Legislature, held in 1884, after very thorough discussion and consideration of the whole of the questions involved in these demands, political lines were wiped out, political cries were silenced; Political parties were laid aside by mutual consent, and the Legislature of the Province, consecrated the demands of the Government and of "The Farmers' Union" as the supreme question of the Province, by unanimously adopting those demands, as "The Provincial" ultimatum to the Dominion. (See introduction, page xii.) The Legislature also appointed a delegation of the members of the Government to proceed to Ottawa and submit the demands to Her Majesty's Ministers of the Dominion Privy Council. The Legislature adjourned, awaiting the return of the delegates. They returned in due time, and submitted the result of their mission, and the Government and the Legislature of the Province, by a unanimous vote, rejected the beggarly—not to say insulting—terms offered by the usurpers of our rights as British subjects, in settlement of, or as the price of our birthright.

The Government of Her Majesty, speaking through His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, proclaimed, in considering the question of the ownership of the Public Lands in the Northwest Territory: "It is also clear that Colonists of the Anglo-Saxon race

look upon the land revenue as legitimately belonging to the community, and that the diversion of half, or more than half of that revenue, . . . . . would cause a continual and growing discontent which could not be allayed by any abstract agreement of right." That declaration of His Grace, the well-matured decision of the Imperial Government, finds an echo in every loyal heart in Manitoba, and until the question of our Public Lands shall have been decided in accordance with that sound and equitable principle, the question will "cause a continual and growing discontent" in this Province and in the whole Northwest Territory.

The Dominion Government, after having proved to a demonstration that the "Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," had no claim or title, legal or equitable, under the Charter, or under any recognized title—to the Northwest Territory—pretends to have purchased the whole of the Public Lands of the Northwest Territory from the Hudson's Bay Company. The answer of the farmers of Manitoba to that pretence is simple in the extreme, we say; the Lands of the Northwest never belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company, and consequently that Company could not sell, and Canada could not buy, from the Company, that which never belonged to it; We must be right in this answer; it is the answer of the Government of Canada speaking as the sworn Canadian advisers of Her Majesty, and certainly they should not be suspected of venturing to advance an untruth. They said to the Hudson's Bay Company and to Her Majesty's Government, "The country which, in view of these facts, must be excluded from the operations of the (Hudson's Bay) Charter, includes all the lands fit for cultivation and settlement in that part of British America," and they demanded from Her Majesty's Government, "on behalf of the Dominion Government, the immediate transfer to that Government of the Northwest Territory" as not being the property of, or in anywise under the legal control of the Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay. We take it for granted they acted in good faith. We are satisfied they were

perfectly correct both in law and in fact. We are further satisfied that it was their making, that demand, that forced the Hudson's Bay Company to come to terms, and to sell their rights, "whatever they might be," in Rupert's Land. We are satisfied of all that; but what we are not satisfied about is this: How came Canada to take possession of the Northwest Territory? With a population of at least 30,000 British subjects—the Red River settlement, or Assiniboia, alone had over 14,000—without ever consulting them on the subject, how came the Government of Canada to pretend that they bought from the Hudson's Bay Company this Northwest Territory? when they themselves proved most conclusively that it never belonged to that Company—but that it belonged to the British Crown from the moment when Wolf, under the frowning walls of Quebec, wrested "La Nouvelle France" from the grasp of France up to this hour? Now, on their own showing, the Government of Canada have no title to the Northwest Territory. They did not, and could not, buy it from the Hudson's Bay Company, as it never belonged to that Company, and they had it transferred to them by Her Majesty's Government on the false pretence that Canada was going to act constitutionally, under the British North America Act, and take the Northwest Territory into the Union as a Province of the Confederacy, which has never been done. But, on the contrary, Canada took advantage of the half-breed rebellion against the constituted authorities of Assiniboia, to use force in securing possession of the Northwest Territory; and then, under the pretext that the Loyal Population of the country was a party to the settlement that was made with Louis Riel, Canada made a clipping from a corner of the map and called it Manitoba, and to all intents and purposes, confiscated all the lands of the Northwest Territory, altogether disregarding the rights of the people of the country—colonists of the Anglo-Saxon race—treating them as strangers, aliens, or as a conquered people, who had to submit and not dictate terms. British subjects were treated far worse than the Indian population; with them treaties were made to secure their consent to the taking possession of

the whole country; treaties that have since been systematically disregarded or slurred by Federal officials. Had Canada even been so considerate as to have given to the little Province of Manitoba, which was carved out of one little corner of the great Northwest, complete jurisdiction over, and control of, the lands within the Province, the same as that enjoyed by all the other Provinces of the Confederation, the people would have been satisfied. No, that would have been too just, considerate and liberal. The original Province of Manitoba consisted of about 9,000,000 acres, out of which there were deducted, to satisfy Riel, 1,400,000 acres for half-breed children. That was right as far as Riel and the half-breed claims went. But, then, the men of that volunteer force, which mismanagement, or cupidity, rendered it necessary, or expedient, to send to take possession of the whole Northwest Territory, were promised 160 acres of land each, as a bounty for their services, amounting to about 175,000 acres. Now, why should Manitoba be compelled to give all this land, out of her small domain, when the whole Northwest Territory was taken possession of by the military expedition of 1870? Clearly, to take all from Manitoba, would not be just or right. Taking it for granted that Canada had the power to do so, and deducting also the amount of land set apart for the Hudson's Bay Company, and the amount set apart for schools, "that sacred trust" which has been rendered a curse to the settlers of the country through meaningless and masterly mismanagement, and also the allowances for other purposes. Apart from Railway Land subsidies, there would still be left at least 6,000,000 acres, in right and justice the property of this Province, from which to raise a revenue, in the words of His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, "In an unsettled colony, there is no effectual mode of taxation for purposes of Government and improvement, and the whole progress of the colony depends on the liberal and prudent disposal of its lands." Certainly the Anglo-Saxon race in Manitoba and the Northwest has not received that British fair-play from the Dominion of Canada, that the British Minister declares to be their birthright. And Manitoba" has no

source of revenue left her of any kind except direct taxation. The reply of the Government of Canada to the demand of the delegates from Manitoba for "The Right of the Province to the Control, Management and Sale of Public Lands within its limits for the public uses thereof, and the Mines, Minerals, Wood and Timber thereon, or an equivalent therefor, and to receive from the Dominion Government payment for the lands already disposed of by them within the Province, less the cost of surveys and management" was: "The lands of Manitoba, hold a very different position in relation to the Dominion Government from the lands of the other Provinces. Shortly after the union of the old Provinces, the Government formed from that union purchased, at a large price in cash, all the rights, titles and interest of the Hudson's Bay Company in and to the territory out of which the Province of Manitoba has been formed. It incurred, further, a very large expenditure, to obtain and hold this territory in peaceable possession, and at a still further cost, which is continuous and perpetual in extinguishing Indian titles and maintaining the Indians, so that the Dominion Government has a very large pecuniary interest in the soil which does not exist in respect to any other of the Confederated Provinces." By this reply it will be seen: 1st, That Canada charges Manitoba with the "large price in cash" with which she purchased the Rights of the Hudson's Bay Company in and to the Northwest Territory. Canada did not purchase for cash. She issued bonds, bearing interest secured by the Imperial guarantee; and Manitoba to-day is paying a larger percentage of that interest on account of Her own sale and purchase than any other Province of the Dominion, in proportion to the population, and that, in the face of the fact that, the interest is being paid for the pretended purchase of her Public Lands; of which she has been despoiled, and to which she is given no right whatever—save as if in mockery—to the "Swamp Lands," which would not repay the cost of drainage for fifty years to come, or until all arable land within boundless limits are occupied, and swamp lands rendered valuable by the scarcity of all other lands for cultivating. 2nd, Manitoba is debited with \$1,369,689, the cost of the military

expedition which was sent to take possession of the whole of the Northwest Territory and Rupert's Land in 1870! As well, and with equally as much justice and reason, might Canada charge Manitoba with the cost of suppressing the alarming rebellion now raging in the Northwest Territory. The first military expedition under Colonel Wolseley, in 1870, was the result of the gross mismanagement by the Government of the Dominion, in their negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company, and their total disregard of the rights of the people of the Red River Settlement, resulting in the uprising of the French half-breeds under Louis Riel, to compel a recognition of their claims. The present alarming rebellion of the French half-breeds and Indians in the Northwest Territory is the result of the very same causes. Mismanagement, pledges unfulfilled, plunder of the Indians by Dominion agents, and the solemn promises of the Government of Canada to the people of the country, made fifteen years ago, totally disregarded and unfulfilled. "That the rights of any Corporation, Company, or INDIVIDUAL within the territories shall be respected, and that provision should be made for that purpose by placing those rights under the protection of courts of competent jurisdiction." Fifteen years have passed, and no such provision has been made, nor have the rights of "individuals" been in any way regarded, much less settled, nor were any courts of competent jurisdiction, ever appointed to protect such rights, petitions, remonstrances, demands were made in vain; Canada had a great railway to build across the continent. She had no time to attend to the rights of individuals, and the claims of the people of the Territories and of the Province of Manitoba could be treated with neglect, or even contempt, so long as the public lands could be utilized to build the road and pay the greater part of the cost. The former has no voting power in Parliament, and the latter is left at the mercy of four Government supporters, and one Opposition member, who is treated with scorn when he dares stand up for the rights of the Province, as he cannot be bought with "Timber Limits" or a Railway Charter. And then it appears to be so simple a matter to prove to the



world how ~~very unreasonable~~ the agitators of Manitoba and the Northwest are. To show how untruthful are the assertions of the Legislature of Manitoba, and of the "Farmers' Union," and of the Half-Breeds of Manitoba, and of the Indians of the Northwest; just see how very easily this can be done. Several members of Her Majesty's Canadian Ministry actually sacrificed their home comforts, and, in special trains, of palace cars, carrying cooks, wines, and other simple comforts, they dashed through the United States, out to Manitoba, had BANQUETS tendered to them, and addresses read to them, in the different cities and towns of Manitoba and the Northwest, by the creatures and hangers-on of the Government. They visited the Province and the whole Northwest, out to the Rocky Mountains; in a few days—by stepping out on the platform—they saw all there was to be seen, and heard all there was worth hearing, in a country that half a dozen of European kingdoms could be snugly packed away in one corner of, and all this from the platform, or looking out at, a palace car window, going along at 30 or 40 miles an hour. Who could doubt the truthfulness of the declarations of those self-sacrificing advisers of Her Majesty when they proclaimed on the floor of the House of Commons at its next session, that "the agitation in Manitoba and the Northwest is only the vamping of a few dissatisfied individuals who have no influence or standing. During all the time that I was in Manitoba and the Northwest I did not hear one word of dissatisfaction or discontent." The cheering members overlooked the fact that farmers do not, as a general thing, live on railway cars, and that Half-Breeds and Indians do not always cling to the steel rails of the Canada Pacific line to make known their discontent. But then the world has other, and, if possible, stronger proof of the total want of foundation for the agitation that has been going on in Manitoba and the Northwest for years past. The Official Reports of the great Departments of State, solemnly prepared by order of Her Majesty's Government, and printed for the information of the members of Parliament, should be accepted by all reasonable and sensible people as the strongest proof that can be obtained on the subjects they treat of. Let

us then see the facts about Manitoba's agitation, and the claims of the people of Manitoba and the Northwest from the "BLUE BOOK."

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, FOR THE YEAR 1884.

(Printed by order of Parliament.)

From the Report of "The Deputy of the Minister of the Interior," the following is taken, to show how perfectly reliable (?) is the information served up in the Blue Book to satisfy the minds of conscientious members of the House of Commons, and to mislead the people of the Eastern Provinces and the Imperial Government, as to the true state of things in this country. (Page xi)

"The following is a summary statement of the homestead and "pre-emption entries and sales made by the Department, through "its several agencies in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, "during the past two years:

	1883.	1884.
Homesteads .....	970,719 acres	533,280 acres
Pre-emptions .....	659,120 "	364,060 "
Sales .....	202,143 "	213,172 "

The Deputy of the Minister of the Interior says: "There is very little reason to doubt that this decrease is largely owing to the unfortunate utterances of agitators, whose motives are now so well understood that danger to the progress of the country need no longer be apprehended from that source. These persons took advantage of the partial failure of the crop of 1883 to thrust themselves to the front, and gave expressions to views which were not entertained by those for whom they professed to speak, but which, nevertheless, worked much harm to the country."

This mendacious statement is supposed to be made by "The Deputy of the Minister of the Interior," a gentleman who would naturally be regarded, by all classes abroad, because of the position he holds, as high authority on all matters relating to the public Lands, and the situation of things generally in the Province of

Manitoba and the Northwest Territory. He is a gentleman who is supposed to know all about cause and effect in this vast country that is unfortunately under the masterly (?) administration of people like "the Deputy of the Minister of the Interior;" a gentleman whose sole knowledge of the country was acquired in an office at Ottawa, 1500 miles away from the nearest point in the Territory, where he had been Private Secretary to a former Deputy Minister till within a very short time. The Deputy of the Minister of the Interior, in the interest of the Dominion, spent his summer holidays last year in the Northwest, and then undertook to make official misstatements in a Blue Book report—of which the above is a fair sample. These Blue Book statements are accepted as authentic, and are quoted in the press of Europe, in European official circles, and in the British Parliament; we pronounce them false and misleading, manufactured to order, and totally unreliable. Now, the question is, who is to be believed in this matter? "The Deputy of the Minister of the Interior," or the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba, the Northwest Council, and the Manitoba and Northwest Farmers' Union? All of these bodies have expostulated with the Dominion Government on the mismanagement of the Public Lands. Certainly the "Northwest Territory," in one respect, is worse off even than Manitoba. Six out of the dozen gentlemen composing the Northwest Council—that farce established to make it easier to shift the responsibility of misgovernment off the shoulders of the responsible heads at Ottawa—are paid employees of the Dominion Government; and still, that Council so composed, was forced, by the pressure of public opinion, expressed at public meetings and through petitions, presented by the elective representatives of the people; to adopt addresses to the Governor-General in Council, asking that the people's rights should be respected and attended to. The expostulations, meetings and petitions were all in vain, and now the war whoop of the Savage, the thunder of cannon, the crack of the rifle, the groans of the wounded and the shrieks of the dying, call the attention of the Empire to the gross mismanagement of affairs in the Northwest.

"The Deputy of the Minister of the Interior," in his "Blue Book" Report, attempts to explain how it is that the Homestead entries are decreasing. It is owing to the "unfortunate utterances of agitators," he says; we say it is not, but that it is owing to the unfortunate position of the farmers of the country, who are left in the hands of the Sheriff or of the money lender, through excessive taxation, and want of branch railways to convey their crops to market, the knowledge of which has spread over the country, through letters written by settlers to their friends, preventing immigration. So long as the settlers could borrow money on their farms, they did so, to meet the tax-gatherer and "The Protective Tariff;" hoping for a change or modification of the Tariff; hoping for Branch Railways; hoping against hope for years past. In Southwestern Manitoba the granaries are bursting with wheat; but there is no market near enough to pay for hauling. The grain may rot, and the farmer, in consequence, will be ruined; but the Railway Monopoly must be supported. We cheerfully acknowledge that the Canada Pacific Railway, last season, acted fairly, as regards freights with the farmers along its line; but the farmers away from that road are totally deprived of a market, through want of Branch Lines. The jurisdiction in relation to railway lines within the limits of any Province, given to all the Provinces under Section 92 of the B. N. America Act, 1865, is trampled under foot. It is only with the weak Province of Manitoba that this is done. The Dominion Government thinks that it can, with impunity, disregard the constitutional rights of a weak Province. It would not dare to encroach upon the constitutional rights of Ontario or Quebec. It can for the present with Manitoba. Well, be it so. If Canada wants to make this country a monopoly preserve, and the people of the country are willing to become the serfs of a monopoly, she may succeed in that grand National (?) object; but she cannot, at the same time, make it a farming country; nor can she blind the intending immigrant much longer to the fact that this country is not, in her present position, an encouraging place for settlement, and never will be until the Empire uses its influence to induce the Government of the

Dominion to give Manitoba, at least the free exercise of Her constitutional right to charter railways within her boundaries, through her rich agricultural Townships—to carry her teeming crops to market. And the right to administer her SCHOOL LANDS set apart for educational purposes, and which are at the end of fifteen years still vacant and wild land, blocking settlement in the very centre of every Township, unproductive in every respect, except where they have become the adopted home of the dreaded CANADA THISTLE, that yearly scatters its progeny of flying destruction over the settlers' cultivated lands for 20 miles around, planting in the soil of our virgin Province an enemy that will be a curse to the farmer and a loss to the country through future generations. And the Province of Manitoba must be allowed her Public Lands or a fair annual money payment as an equivalent in their stead, and a reasonable return of a proportion of the money that her people are compelled to contribute to the Treasury of the Dominion, under the Protective Tariff. When these things are done, and the farmers of the country can freely advise others to come here, and take up lands, with a fair prospect of making comfortable homes for their families, then the Homestead and Pre-emption entries will increase; and till then they will continue to decrease. We would ask "The Deputy of the Minister of the Interior" whether the PREMIER of Manitoba is one of the "Agitators" he referred to in his report? He must be, because "THE HON. JOHN NORQUAY, Premier of Manitoba, in his report to Council, of 2nd March, 1883, forwarded to His Excellency the Governor-General, says:

"The time has arrived when the increasing necessity for a practical recognition of the financial requirements of the Province, forces upon the undersigned a repetition of the unpleasant task of drawing your Honor's attention to the anomalous position which Manitoba occupies as one of the Provinces of the Dominion.

"The financial condition of the Province has time and again been placed before the Federal authorities, and its inadequacy to meet the requirements of Government been admitted by the intermittent increases to her subsidy, and by the withdrawal from capital to meet the exigen-

cies arising from settlement, which in other Provinces, are attended by corresponding sources of revenue.

"The prospect to Manitoba is anything but cheering, unless her sources of revenue are placed upon a more satisfactory basis than the present, and precludes the possibility of her attaining that independent position as a province, which the spirit of confederation contemplated.

"The public lands within the Province are administered by the Dominion and the proceeds derived therefrom accrue to the Federal Treasury.

"Large appropriations have been made by the Government of Canada from the public lands in Manitoba to aid the construction of railways, and to promote settlement, a liberal land policy has been pursued, the consequence has been that settlement has gone on with unprecedented rapidity, and the energetic prosecution of the Canadian Pacific and other Railway enterprises tends to bring about a state of affairs highly gratifying and beneficial to the Dominion, but embarrassing to the Province.

"These facts ere now have been laid before the Government at Ottawa, but either through inappreciation of them, or disbelief in their existence, only such relief has been given as would tide over the difficulty for the time being, and no adequate provision made for the exigencies of Government that have arisen under the state of affairs just cited.

"The provision allowed for our requirements being now so inadequate, the contemplation of our position when a great influx of population will multiply the expense of Government, is a far from pleasant prospect, but a fact that must be faced. INDEED, A LARGE ADDITION TO THE POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE WOULD BE NOTHING SHORT OF AN EVIL IN DISGUISE, THE RAPID SETTLEMENT OF THE TERRITORY WOULD PROVE ANYTHING BUT A BLESSING; TO MEET INCREASING REQUIREMENTS UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD BE AN IMPOSSIBILITY, OUR REVENUE BEING OUT OF ALL PROPORTION TO OUR NECESSARY EXPENDITURE."

The above is a portion of a public paper, solemnly prepared by the Government of Manitoba, and sent to Her Majesty's representative at Ottawa, in the hope of getting simple justice for the country—it must be classed among the "UNFORTUNATE UTTERANCES OF AGITATORS."

But let us look at the Blue Book Report again, and see how the world is deceived by such people as "The Deputy of the Minister of the Interior," and those who act under him in the administration of the Public Lands in Manitoba and the Northwest Territory. At Page xi. of the Report we find the following statement:

### CLAIMS OF THE OLD SETTLERS.

"At the time the offices of Deputy Head and Surveyor-General were separated, and Mr. Lindsay Russell was charged with the duties appertaining to the latter position, it was provided that he should also investigate and settle the claims to land by virtue of long occupations advanced by the old settlers along the North Saskatchewan (that is three years ago.) When it was found that Mr. Russell's health did not admit of his visiting the settlements, an Order in Council was passed remitting this portion of his work to the Land Board. Accordingly, early in the year (1884) Mr. Pearce went to Prince Albert, and from thence to Battleford, Edmonton and St. Albert, and made a careful personal enquiry into all the claims of this class at those places, with the result that all, with one or two exceptions at Battleford and Edmonton, HAVE BEEN FINALLY AND SATISFACTORILY DISPOSED OF. The only claims of old settlers remaining unsettled are at Lac la Biche, Victoria and Battle River. The necessary investigation at the two latter places will be made early next spring, but the claims at Lac la Biche cannot be properly adjusted until the surveys reach that point.

It must be remembered that the claims above referred to have been standing unsettled for fifteen years! Before the ink was dry with which the above report was printed, stating that they "HAVE BEEN FINALLY AND SATISFACTORILY SETTLED," the contradiction to the statement was sent out to the world in the announcement that the Half-Breeds and Indians of the Northwest Territory were in open Rebellion, and the answer to the mendacious Report of "The Deputy of the Minister of the Interior," went to Ottawa, written, alas! in the life-blood of the loyal sons of Canada, and in the shrieks of women, outraged and murdered.

by infuriated Half-Breeds and savage Indians, roused up to madness by the neglect and injustice of the Ottawa Government. And then, when too late, that Government, that had solemnly pledged itself fifteen years ago "That the rights of any Corporation, Company, OR INDIVIDUAL within the Territories should be respected, and that provision should be made for that purpose by placing those rights under the protection of COURTS OF COMPETENT JURISDICTION," hurriedly named Commissioners to proceed to the Northwest Territory to settle—amid the smoke of battle, and the shrieks of the dying—the claims of the "Old Settlers," which are announced in The Deputy Minister's Report as "FINALLY AND SATISFACTORILY SETTLED." To show how dreadfully this matter of land claims has been mismanaged, let us take two other extracts from the Blue Book Report. Mr. Pierce—who is said to have settled those claims at Prince Albert, Battleford, Edmonton and St. Albert—says (Page 15): The claims at St. Laurent, on the south branch of the Saskatchewan, were not personally investigated by me, as the greater portion of the claimants spoke only French, and I would have required an interpreter. Just fancy what commendable economy! in a country where the claimants were French Half-Breeds. In Canada, with a French population of about a million and a half, an English employee, of the Department of the Interior of very doubtful ability in any respect (WHAT A COURT OF COMPETENT JURISDICTION!) who cannot speak French, is sent to take evidence, and had to leave claims of fifteen years' standing unsettled still, because he would have to employ an interpreter! How, then, could those claims have been "finally and satisfactorily settled?" Mr. Commissioner Walsh, in his report in that same Blue Book, says (Page 4): "There are still a number of old claims upon the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, and their tributaries, requiring investigation." These claims are all within the Province of Manitoba; and notwithstanding the splendid administration of the Public Lands by the Ottawa Government, of which that Government boasts so much, and



of which we are told we have nothing to complain. After fifteen years, they are yet unsettled! Men in the prime of life, who had claims for land in 1870, now are gray, and bent, and old, and still their claims are unsettled. And the people of this Province must not dare to murmur or complain! It is treasonable to do so! The Canadian Circumlocution Office bids fair to outdo the old Chancery Court, that was for a thousand years the blessing of Lawyers and the curse of England. And still it is the worst kind of treason to agitate or complain! Surely the Government could well have afforded to appoint, "Courts of competent jurisdiction," as they were solemnly pledged to do, when they were receiving millions of dollars from the sale of the Public Lands. Here are their receipts from the time they confiscated the Lands of the people of the Northwest Territory up to June of last year—one year ago:

Fiscal Period.	Homestead and Pre-emption Fees.	Ordinary Sales.		Sales to Coloniza- tion Co's.	Total.
		Cash.	Scrp.		
July 1, 1872, to June 30, 1873.....	\$ 6,970 00	\$ 21,616 00			\$ 28,586 00
" 1, 1873, " 1874.....	8,290 00	17,697 00			25,987 00
" 1, 1874, " 1875.....	11,570 00	13,591 90			25,161 90
" 1, 1875, " 1876.....	4,700 00	3,794 31	\$ 320 00		8,724 00
" 1, 1876, " 1877.....	5,620 00	1,069 90	136,955 16		143,645 06
" 1, 1877, " 1878.....	15,370 00	2,682 24	120,159 54		138,211 78
" 1, 1878, " 1879.....	30,026 00	8,188 44	210,904 84		255,119 28
" 1, 1879, " 1880.....	32,358 00	41,768 47	81,685 86		155,812 33
" 1, 1880, " 1881.....	30,682 75	62,940 84	78,828 30		164,451 89
" 1, 1881, " 1882.....	94,228 90	1,228,424 37	50,590 84	\$354,036 17	1,727,280 28
" 1, 1882, " 1883.....	127,740 00	516,092 21	33,638 40	248,492 01	925,962 62
" 1, 1883, " 1884.....	70,390 00	423,113 36	40,919 67	253,713 40	788,136 43
					\$4,387,078 88

The question of the settlement of land claims is no new one; it is co-existent with Canada's possession of this country, it is a question that has always been neglected, or treated in such a manner as to arouse doubt and uncertainty in the claimants, as to the desire of Canada to act with impartiality and justice. One of the most difficult phases of the land claims that has ever presented itself in the Province of Manitoba, was the question of the "Hay privilege." On this question the Dominion Government attempted to decide to suit their own views, as they had done in all other matters relating to the rights of the people.

of the country, without any regard to the rights—real or imaginary—of the people. In 1873—twelve years ago—the French Half-Breeds, of Red River Settlement, after they had exhausted all other means, such as petitions, addresses of the Legislature, and remonstrance of the Local Government, to Ottawa, called on the Government of Manitoba to protect their rights, declaring that, unless those rights were respected, they would defend them with arms. In view of so serious a state of things, three of the members of the Government called on the Dominion Lands Agent at Winnipeg, and informed him of the state of feeling among the Half-Breeds, and demanded an immediate decision of the Hay privilege question,—it had then been awaiting settlement for three years—at the same time telegraphing to Ottawa and making the same demand, and placing the responsibility on the Dominion Government, should the matter be longer neglected, and any disagreeable consequences arise. The action of the Local Government had its effect. The result was a satisfactory settlement of the Hay privilege, and an uprising of the French Half-Breeds was thereby avoided. And at the next meeting of the Legislature a Half-Breed representative, moved Tuesday, February 18th, 1873. (Journals of the House):

On motion of Mr. Schmidt,

That whereas the question of lands has always called the special attention of the people of this province, and as the settlement of this important question has always been anxiously expected by all the inhabitants of this Province without any distinction,

Be it resolved in consequence,

*First*, That this House looks with pleasure upon the steps taken by the Government during July last in calling upon the Crown Lands Agent in this Province and representing that in case the Federal Government would not urge the settlement of the question of land and so put an end to complaints of dissatisfaction on the part of the inhabitants, they would throw upon them the responsibility of any trouble that may occur.

*Second*, That this House, speaking on behalf of the whole people, are of opinion that it is their duty on this occasion to highly congratulate

the Government on the energetic demand which brought such good results.

A debate ensued and the motion passed in the affirmative.

This action on the part of the Half-Breeds proves how grateful they were for having their just claims recognized.

At the opening of the same session of the Legislature, the Lieutenant-Governor, in his speech, said:

Ere dismissing you to your important labors, I cannot refrain from expressing my entire satisfaction, that the great questions of the allotment of lands to the Metis of our country, and to the pioneers of the Selkirk Settlement, the giving of titles to their lands to other residents of the Province and to the Volunteers, are progressing towards a final settlement, and together with the adjustment on fair and equitable terms of the rights of Common and Hay Cutting, as enjoyed by the settlers in the Province, will speedily be determined and placed beyond the peradventure of a doubt.

This progression towards a final settlement of claims to land in the Province has been unpardonably, not to say criminally slow. Hundreds of cases are not yet settled at the end of thirteen years, from the time when "the entire satisfaction" of the Governor was expressed to the Legislature.

The Legislature of the Province of Manitoba, nearly every session since 1870, has called the attention of the Ottawa Government to the unsatisfactory state of the Public and School Land question, and no matter what party was in power, Manitoba was equally snubbed by either. The following correspondence will speak for itself and show the cool and studied contempt with which the Government at Ottawa treated any suggestions made to them in respect to the administration of the School or Public Lands in Manitoba, and at the same time it will show that Manitoba is not to blame if the whole thing has been made such a mess of, as present circumstances would indicate.

Extract from the Minutes of Council held at Government House, Fort Garry, on the 18th day of November, 1876.

The Council have had under consideration several questions relating to lands in the Province, and desire to bring these under the attention of the Privy Council. A large immigration is expected here next

spring, and owing to the number of reserve lands held for various purposes, and the distance from the settlements of the remaining unreserved lands, the Council fear that many of the immigrants will go back dissatisfied to settle in a foreign country. The Council therefore beg to submit to the attention of the Privy Council their views on the following subjects :

1st. With regard to the large amount of land withheld from settlement for the purposes of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Council represent, that at least within the alternate blocks to be held by the Government settlement should be permitted, even if reasons of policy should prevent this being done within the blocks to be allotted to the proposed contractors. They are aware that settlers are already going upon these lands, and they are persuaded that next year this will take place to a large extent, as many settlers will deliberately run the risk of ejection rather than go to remote distances. The Council would suggest that a price be put on the Government railway lands, and, if possible, on the lands to be assigned to the contractors, and that they should be sold at that price to *bona fide* actual settlers only. The Council would further represent, that in view of the circumscribed area of Manitoba, whether the suggestions of the Council are adopted or not, some definite policy as to the sale of these lands to actual settlers should be adopted by the Privy Council and made known to the public.

2nd. With regard to the Half-Breed Lands to be allotted to the children under the Manitoba Act, the Council would urgently urge that so soon as the lands reserved for a Parish or Township are drawn and allotted, public announcement thereof should be made, in order that children of full age, to whom lands have been allotted, may have the opportunity of settling upon them, and that the parents or guardians of minors may have the opportunity of protecting any timber that may exist upon the land. They are aware of many young men who are anxiously awaiting the pronouncement of the lots that have fallen to them, in order that they may settle upon the land if it be suitable.

They are also of opinion that the children of full age should have the right to sell the land allotted to them so soon as the allotment has been made and confirmed, without awaiting the issue of the patents, owing to the length of time that will be occupied before the issue can take place.

3rd. The Council request a reply to the Address of the Legislature asking for a transference of the School Lands to the Provincial authorities for the purposes of the sale thereof, and the investment of the proceeds realized to establish a School Fund. These lands are now a serious barrier to settlement, and if properly cared for and husbanded would form a good endowment for the maintenance of schools.

The Council urgently request that the attention of the Privy Council may be directed to the foregoing subjects, and their decision announced to them at the earliest possible moment.

A true copy.

FRANK G. BECHER,  
C. Ex. C.

OTTAWA, 23rd January, 1877.

SIR,—I have the honor to transmit herewith for the information of your Government a copy of an Order of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, in reference to the minute of your Executive Council enclosed in your despatch of the 7th ultimo, on the subject of the Railway Reserve Lands, the Half-Breed and School Lands within the Province of Manitoba, and the policy of the Government of Canada connected therewith.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

R. W. SCOTT,  
Secretary of State.

*To His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba,  
Fort Garry.*

Copy of a Report of a Committee of the Honorable the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council on the 19th January, 1877.

On a memorandum dated 18th January, 1877, from the Honorable the Minister of the Interior, stating that he has had under his consideration a minute of the Executive Council of the Province of Manitoba, dated the 18th November, 1876, respecting which he begs leave to make the following observations :

In the minute referred to it is stated that the Executive Council of Manitoba has had under consideration the policy the Government of

Canada ought to pursue in reference to the Railway Land Reserves, the Half-Breed and School Lands, within the Province of Manitoba.

The Minister states that he does not think it would be wise to enter into any discussion of the policy which ought to be adopted by the Government of Canada in reference to the Public Lands of the Dominion with the Executive Council of the Province of Manitoba, as the Government are directly responsible to Parliament for the course which they may take upon the subject; that he does not think the time has yet arrived when the settlement of Manitoba has so far proceeded as to make it in the interest of the public to determine how the lands shall be dealt with which have been reserved for School purposes in that Province and in the Northwest Territories.

He therefore recommends that the Executive Council of Manitoba be informed that the subject referred to in their minute of Council of the 18th November, 1876, will continue to receive the careful attention of the Government, and will be dealt with in the manner which the Government believe to be most favorable to the public interests, and with a full sense of their responsibility to Parliament and to the people.

The Committee concur in the views expressed in the foregoing memorandum, and submit the recommendation therein contained for your Excellency's approval.

Certified.

(Signed)

W. A. HIMSWORTH,

Clerk Privy Council.

*To the Honorable the Secretary of State.*

We venture to say that no Government, with any pretence to respect for the feelings of those, to a great extent at its mercy, would write officially, such an intentional insult, to the Government of a Province, supposed to have equal rights with the other members of the Confederation. The Legislature, at its next session, resented the insult so bluntly hurled at the Government and people of the Province, and ordered the following address to H's Excellency to be forwarded to Ottawa:

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

We, Her Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba, in Parliament, assembled, beg leave to represent to your Excellency:

—That whereas it was not the desire of the Government of Manitoba to discuss the policy of the Dominion Government in connection with the management of Dominion Lands, except so far as it relates to land within the limits of the Province ;

And whereas, in the opinion of this House, the Executive Council only did their duty in representing facts which were apparent to every member of this House, we regret to learn that the views of this House, as were expressed through the Executive Council of Manitoba, should have been met with such a spirit as characterizes the despatch of the Privy Council, of the date of January 19th, based on the report of the Minister of the Interior on the subject of the Half-Breed, School, and Railway Land Reserves.

Ordered, that the foregoing memorial be adopted, engrossed, and signed by the Speaker.

As might be expected, from the animus shown in the "Minute of Council," no attention whatever was paid to the very reasonable and practical suggestion of the Government of Manitoba, and consequently about 30,000 Canadian and British immigrants within two years from that date, finding no land within 30 to 70 miles of Winnipeg, or the Red River, open to settlement, went over to Dakota and Minnesota and settled on United States lands there, and are now citizens of the United States, lost to their native land forever, and their minds filled with rancour at the treatment they received from the Government of Canada, that had induced them to leave their former homes, by the promises held out, in immigration pamphlets, and by Dominion agents in Great Britain, of Homesteads and Pre-emptions in favorable localities in Manitoba and the Northwest, when, in fact, the greater part of the country was closed against settlers in the interest of Land Speculators, the Hudson's Bay Company, and Railway Construction.

In 1873—twelve years ago—the Manitoba Government delegates to Ottawa asked for "The creation of a tribunal in Manitoba, to settle all questions as to claims for occupancy of land, the issue of patents for land, and all conflicting claims to Crown Lands, and questions of a like character." It is needless to say the demand was treated with contempt. No such Tribunal has ever

yet been created; and a large number of claims within the Province are still unsettled.

From the year 1871 up to the present year, the Government of Manitoba has demanded a reconsideration of the Financial and Public Land arrangement with the Dominion, and as early as 1872, protested against the imposition of the Canadian Tariff, in the Province of Manitoba; and by most unceasing efforts, on the part of the Government of the Province, the Tariff of Assiniboia was continued in force in Manitoba up to the 1st of July, 1874. So that when we are told that no exception can be made in respect to "The Protective Tariff" in favor of this Province, we must respectfully draw attention to the fact that such an exception was once made for four years,—from July, 1870, to July, 1874—and why the same exception cannot be made again in favor of a new and struggling agricultural community, we cannot understand.

We would further submit that among the many and weighty causes of complaint existing in our Province; is this, of the countless number of appointments to public office, made by the Dominion Government in this Province, and in the Northwest Territories, they are nearly all made from the other Provinces of the Dominion, this country being systematically overlooked. The Rebellion in Upper and Lower Canada, in 1837 and 1838, was caused, in a very great measure, by a similar policy on the part of the Imperial Government. Why should a system which was found to be unjust towards Canada, and which produced such disagreeable consequences 47 years ago, be now practised towards this Province, and the Government expect the people to tamely submit to it? They may be forced to submit, for a time, but they claim the right to protest against it; and they will only submit so long as they cannot help themselves. Manitoba and the Northwest Territory have been made a Haven of Refuge for all kinds of broken-down or troublesome political hacks from all the other Provinces. A glance at the Public Accounts will show how costly it is to this unfortunate Province, to be obliged to submit to being made a retreat for such persons. In 1882 our Customs and Excise receipts were \$1,212,917.31. The cost of



collection was \$22,610.73. In 1884 the receipts were, \$830,937.90, or \$381,979.41 less than 1882; and yet the cost of collection was \$64,088.46, OR VERY NEARLY THREE TIMES AS MUCH AS IN 1882.

It costs a good deal of money to find places for hungry followers. The people sent here as public officials are strangers to the country; know nothing about its wants, and know nothing about the language of a large portion of the people—like that Mr. Pierce, who was sent to take evidence and settle the claims of French Half-Breeds, and who did not know anything of their language. The very letter-carriers of the City of Winnipeg are nearly all persons sent from other Provinces! And the Homestead Inspectors—men who should know all about the country—are nearly all sent from Ottawa, or elsewhere, as a sop for political services rendered to the party in power; their expenses of travel (1500 miles) have to be paid, and when they get here they cannot find their way over the prairies without guides! Forest rangers are manufactured from clerks out of Eastern offices and stores, Farm instructors, who are sent to teach the Indians how to cultivate the soil, are chosen from among people who, most of them, never worked on a farm, and many of them remarkable only for drunkenness and want of character, but being friends of Ministers at Ottawa, is a sufficient qualification, and Commissioners, to take evidence and settle Land Claims (COURTS OF COMPETENT JURISDICTION), are manufactured out of hangers-on of "The Department of the Interior," at Ottawa, creatures of the LAND RING, which has been discovered lately, and which bids fair to become a national scandal and disgrace—members of Parliament and Senators being among the criminals. The facts had better be told now, so that for the future there may be no want of knowledge pretended as to why the claims of settlers to lands in Manitoba and the Northwest Territory were not promptly settled.

The pretended reason given was the amount of business and the difficulty of settlement. The real reason was that a ring was formed among the officials in the Department of the Interior at Ottawa, and under the manipulations of that ring two kinds of people only could get patents for land—whether their claims

were good or not—1st. Those who were in power themselves, or who could command the powerful influence of Senators or Members of the House of Commons or of the Government. 2nd. Those who were ready and willing to pay such sum for patents, —whether their claims were good or bad—as might be demanded by the agents of the members of the ring in the Department of the Interior. All other persons who tried to get their claims settled, or their patents issued, were treated with contempt, of the silent kind, and that in a most systematic manner, so that becoming impatient or disheartened by long years of delay, they were at last compelled through want, or in despair of ever getting their patents—to sell their claims to land sharks, or ring agents, for such price as they were offered. These are the simple and disgraceful facts! Let the Government deny them, if they can, in the teeth of the PRIVATE INVESTIGATION now going on at Ottawa. Is it any wonder that the people of this Province are dissatisfied, and that the Northwest is in a blaze of Rebellion?

If the Province of Manitoba and the Northwest Territory were properly represented in the Parliament of the Dominion, as they, in justice ought to be, the cruel imposition and injustice practised towards us by the Dominion could not exist. Our weakness—which with a generous Government ought to secure for us consideration and fair-play—is taken advantage of, and we have no other recourse left than by Agitation to make our grievances known to the Empire, and thus secure a hearing. Because we resort to the only means in our power, we are accused of being disloyal! We indignantly deny the imputation, and point with a sorrowful pride to the fact, that, whilst we are trying to secure consideration and justice, our sons and brothers have left their farms to grow to weeds, while they are away in the Northwest Territory risking and laying down their lives, like loyal sons of Canada, to defend the supremacy of the flag of our forefathers from the contaminating touch of Savages and Half-Breeds, driven to despair by misgovernment and by the acts of incompetent and dishonest Government officials. Yes, of the volunteer force now in the thickest

of the danger, are whole companies composed of members of "THE FARMERS' UNION," and their neighbors and friends who sympathize in the agitation, which, paid hirelings of the press have dared to denounce as disloyal! just as the same creatures would laud and bespatter "THE FARMERS' UNION" with praise to-morrow, if they were better paid for so doing, than they are now for abusing and belying it.

We are aware that to our appeal for redress, the Government of the Dominion will reply, that a final settlement of the claims of Manitoba has been arrived at, between the Dominion Government and the Province. We formally deny that any such arrangement has, or can be made without the consent of the people of the Province first being had. The people of the Province did speak. Public meetings were held throughout the country. "Farmers' Unions" were formed to give strength to the movement by united action. That object was attained, when the demands or, "BILL OF RIGHTS OF THE MANITOBA AND NORTHWEST FARMERS' UNION" was adopted and intensified by the Legislature of the Province, and solemnly declared to be the ultimatum between the Province and the Government of the Dominion. The day that the Legislature of Manitoba passed the resolution, (See Introductions, Page xii) BY A UNANIMOUS VOTE, that day "THE MANITOBA AND NORTHWEST FARMERS' UNION" was recognized as the mouthpiece of the farmers of the Province, and in assuming that position it became incumbent on the Union to follow every action of the Legislature with the closest attention, in so far as that action related to the claims of the Province against the Dominion. On the return of the delegates of the Province from Ottawa and on the announcement of the failure of their mission, inasmuch as that no satisfactory arrangement had been arrived at. The Legislature, by a unanimous vote, rejected the terms offered, as being rather offensive than satisfactory, and declared that the case of the Province of Manitoba must be settled by appealing to Her Majesty. The people of the Province were therefore very much astonished and alarmed to learn that Mr. Norquay and Mr. Murray—who were named on the Com-

mittee of a political party, with many other gentlemen, to proceed to Toronto, to present an address of congratulation to a political leader, and who went away from Manitoba for that purpose only, had—without any authority, and while the people of the country were awaiting the meeting of the Legislature, that an appeal might be made to the foot of the Throne, to pray Her Majesty to interfere in behalf of the Province—unauthorized, undertaken to make an arrangement with the Government of the Dominion, of so inadequate and unjust a nature, that the people could not, and cannot, and will not, consent, or be a party to it. How any Minister of a Province, having any regard for his own name for honesty and truthfulness, could, if in his senses unless he had some ulterior object, or personal ambition, to advance, at the sacrifice of the interests of his Province—consent himself, or coerce the creatures of his will in the Legislature to consent, to so shameful a barter of the Rights of a Province—can only be surmised and guessed at. The guess is pretty generally ventured, however, and it is not creditable to Mr. Norquay. As to the members of the Legislature, who form the Government majority, the fact that several of them are contractors with the Federal Government, others contractors or (indirectly) paid officers of the Local Government, it is not hard to find a reason for their conduct. There is another peculiarity about the members of the Manitoba Legislature, which is this: The majority of members represent a minority of the people, and THE MINORITY OF MEMBERS REPRESENT THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE.

This apparent anomaly is very easily understood, when we say—The present Electoral Districts were arranged in 1881, just after the extension of the boundaries, before the very great rush of immigration took place, the consequence of the boom; and was modelled on the old plan that obtained when the population of the Province was nearly all centered on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, and by which arrangement the minority of voters elect the majority of representatives; the party now in power refuses to re-arrange the Electoral Districts, in the hope that they may be

able to hold the power in their own hands for four years longer. The present Premier, when he was last elected, after a contest, had 85 votes ! his opponent 80—there are members of the Opposition who represent from 500 to 2,000 votes ; one Government supporter was elected by acclamation three years ago, because there were not votes enough in his constituency to sign the nomination papers necessary to nominate another candidate ! To attempt to bind the Province of Manitoba by the act of a Legislature so constructed, would be simply to ask the majority to be ruled by the minority, or to allow the constitutional rights of a Province to be sacrificed to the cupidity of selfish and designing men. Such a state of things may be sustained for ages in the thronged and circumscribed States of the Old World, but in our North west it is impossible to maintain such a position. Our country is too large, and relief is too near ; petty tyranny cannot hope to hold up its ugly head here for centuries to come, without running the risk of having the head lopped off—without ceremony.

Immediately on the announcement that an arrangement had been entered into between Mr. Norquay and the Federal Government, and that it was ascertained—notwithstanding Mr. Norquay's denial of the fact—that the shameful bargain he had made was that Manitoba should receive, nominally, \$100,000 a year for her Public Lands, but in reality that amount is cut down by having deducted the cost of the Federal contest with Ontario for disputed territory, and other charges. "The Manitoba and Northwest Farmers' Union" was at once summoned to meet in Convention at Winnipeg, on the 31st March, 1885, to denounce and condemn the shameful swindle that was being attempted, by which to barter away the constitutional rights of the Province.

Mr. Norquay was equal to the occasion. With his servile majority of Federal contractors and Local jobbers at his back, he forced a vote in the Legislature, against the protest of the minority—who, it will be remembered, represent the majority of the electorate—at 6 o'clock on the morning of the day for which the Convention was called, thinking thereby to choke off further discussion.

His trickery will be of no avail. The Federal Government may pension him off, by giving him a fat Government berth, as the price of his treachery to the Province of Manitoba; but his presence or his absence will make very little difference. The question at issue is a National one; it is fast becoming an Imperial one; it is this: Are the people of the "Northwest Territory" to be recognized and treated as British subjects? Did the Northwest Territory belong to the Empire of Great Britain? In transferring the Northwest Territory to the Dominion of Canada, did Her Majesty not intend, and understand, that the Northwest Territory should be taken into the Confederation, as a Province, with the same constitutional rights and privileges as are enjoyed by all the other Provinces in the Confederation?

The reply to these questions, by Her Majesty, will settle the Manitoba question.

#### OUR DEMANDS.

Manitoba demands her Public Lands and compensation for lands disposed of by the Federal Government for other purposes than Homesteads and Pre-emptions.

That the lands set apart for school purposes should be handed over to the Province to be devoted to the use for which they were intended.

That the financial arrangements between the Province and Dominion be reconsidered, and a fair and equitable settlement arrived at.

That the right of the Province under the B. N. A. Act, to charter railways within her own boundaries, shall not be interfered with.

That Manitoba be given a representation of at least 10 members in the Commons and 5 in the Senate.

That the boundaries of the Province be extended to Hudson's Bay, so that we can secure and control a seaport, without being compelled to pay exorbitantly for the use of the St. Lawrence route to the outer world. The Dominion of Canada, at the same time that they confiscated all the Public Lands of the Northwest

Territory—in their greed—also took possession of a considerable slice of Ontario. This territory was included within the boundaries of Manitoba, as extended in 1881. Manitoba had to spend a considerable amount of money in establishing Courts, Registry Offices, and in the administration of justice and preserving the peace. By the decision of Her Majesty's Privy Council, 27,000,000 of acres of the east and south of Manitoba was declared to be in Ontario.

Thus Manitoba is deprived of 27,000,000 of acres—nearly equal to the whole area of the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia—as well as of her only Lake port. This is altogether owing to the blunder of the Federal Government, not to say the recklessness of their proceeding in usurping and granting to Manitoba, jurisdiction over a territory more than one-third the size of Great Britain and Ireland, to which they had no legal right. We believe we may fairly claim—should we admit Canada's right to cut up the Northwest Territory at all—that our boundaries should be extended to the Hudson's Bay, in compensation for what was taken from us as above stated, we certainly should have a right to a water outlet, without going 2,000 miles of most expensive travel, through other Provinces or through foreign States, to find it, when we have it less than 400 miles from our door—at Hudson's Bay. And, further, when it is certain that no other Province can, or will ever be formed, out of the territory between Manitoba and Hudson's Bay; To refuse that territory is simply to declare that Manitoba is to be forever kept in a position of subserviency to the interests of the Eastern Provinces of the Dominion, and that she must be contented with her isolated position, in consideration of the distinction conferred upon her in being dignified with the name of a Province in the Confederation, but without any of its attributes.

When the boundaries of Manitoba were extended in 1881, the new boundary included 96,000,000 of acres. By the decision of Her Majesty's Privy Council that amount has been reduced to 69,000,000 of acres. British Columbia gets \$100,000 a year for a 40 mile belt of Rock and Mountain. Who is to pay Manitoba, or how much is she to get for the

27,000,000 of acres of Her territory thus taken from Her? The contest with Ontario for the disputed Territory was between Ontario and the Province of Manitoba! How is this? The Dominion of Canada claims the exclusive ownership of the Lands, Forests and Mines within that territory, and has already sold and disposed of extensive timber limits therein, and still did not dare to contest the claim in the name of the Dominion! The Federal-Government fought Ontario in the name of Manitoba. Why? So that no question as to the constitutional right of the Federal Government to the ownership of the Public Lands of a Province could be raised before the Privy Council. And to add insult to injury, Manitoba is now called on to pay the whole cost of defending—what would have been the rights of the Federal Government—had the decision been against Ontario. Now, if the Dominion of Canada wants to keep or use all these 69,000,000 of acres of land still left to Manitoba, we claim that, constitutionally, she can only do so by consent of the people of Manitoba. We are certain that Great Britain will not allow her loyal subjects in the Northwest Territory to be treated worse than Canada dares to treat the Indians and Half-Breeds of the country, because "The Settler of the Anglo-Saxon Race," in his staunch and devoted loyalty, submits, and complains, and with patience, hopes for redress. The Indian and the Half-Breed have not that patience, and knowing no other power than the Canadian Government to which to appeal for redress, plunge at once into rebellion, murder and rapine, writing their remonstrances and petitions in the blood of the innocent victims of their blind and despairing rage, till a horrified world, in that dreadful appeal, is compelled to admit, the ill-treatment that drove the savage to such bloody work, while it condemns the mode he adopted to make his ill-treatment known. Still, there must be a limit to the patience of the most enduring and loyal men; and to prevent that point ever being reached in this country, Her Majesty's loyal subjects, in the Province of Manitoba and the "Northwest Territory," humbly, but with confidence, approach Her Majesty's Throne, and pray for protection in their Rights as British



subjects, that they may be defended, by the power and authority of the British Empire, from the most unconstitutional treatment under which they are suffering, at the hands of what Her Majesty intended, should be a Constitutional Government, when she gave a constitution to the Confederated Colonies of the Dominion. Manitoba is a Colony in the Confederation, or she is not. If she is, she demands respectfully, but firmly, that she shall be placed in possession of all her constitutional rights as a colony, as provided for in the British North America Act, 1867. If she is not a Colony of the Dominion, as provided for in that Act, then she asks Her Sovereign—to whom alone she owes, or will acknowledge allegiance, obedience and loyalty, to grant Her the same constitutional rights that she has secured to all the other colonies of the British Empire; Manitoba and the Northwest Territory will proudly accept that honorable position among the peoples of the world. But if they are doomed much longer to their present anomalous position—a colony in name only, the colony of a colony, denied all the rights that belong to the other colonies in the Confederation, under the “British North America Act”—then, indeed, it will only be a question of time as to when the people will become tired of their equivocal position and slip the yoke of servitude. Canada tells us, in answer to all our demands, that the cost of the Canadian Pacific Railway was incurred for us, to give us a road to and from the East, to open up the country and attract immigration and settlement, and that the Eastern Provinces of the Dominion are taxing themselves to pay for the construction of that great Railway. Let us see how this statement is borne out by facts. 1st. It is not for the benefit of Manitoba that Canada is constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway; it is in consequence of a solemn contract with the Province of British Columbia (See Order in Council, 16th May, 1871, lxxxviii), entered into at the time when that Province came into Confederation, on that special condition, a condition which, like many others, Canada attempted to evade, till British Columbia threatened to withdraw from Confederation, and appealed to Her Majesty, and then Her Majesty’s Government induced Canada to fulfil her contract with British Columbia:

And, now, the Canada Pacific Railway is actually being built, not for Manitoba and the Northwest Territory, but as a special condition, without which British Columbia would not consent to enter into Confederation—still British Columbia demanded, and receives, \$100,000 a year in perpetuity, in payment for a 40 mile belt of Her mountains, being about one-twentieth of the lands of the Province; required by the Dominion for railway purposes, instead of contributing anything; while Manitoba has 69,000,000 of acres of the best wheat land in the world confiscated, on the pretence that it is all required to build the Canada Pacific Railway for Manitoba! and she is insulted with an offer of \$100,000 a year in lieu of every inch of territory within her boundaries! This is Canadian policy! We demand British justice. We want our Public Lands, Mines, and Forests; or we want a reasonable compensation for them. 2nd. Manitoba and the Northwest Territory would be just as well off—if not better—to-day, without the Canadian Pacific Railway round Lake Superior from the Eastern Provinces. Manitoba could find a much cheaper route via the United States in winter, and the Lake Route in summer, than she has now, when the price she has to pay is the loss of all her Public Lands, and the addition of from 20 to 116 per cent. on all she buys—to pay for a railroad that is going to be of incalculable importance to the British Empire and to the Dominion of Canada, without which the Confederated Provinces could not hang together. Manitoba, however, with Branch Lines, built as the requirements of the country demanded, would be much better off, and would be more thickly peopled than she is at present. 3rd. Instead of securing immigration, the rapid construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway has very positively deprived this country of a very large accession of British farmers and other valuable immigrants. The present Minister of the Interior of Canada, Sir David L. Macpherson, Senator, in a speech delivered in the Senate at Ottawa, in 1877, speaking of extravagance and blunders in connection with the construction of the C.P. Railroad, said:

“I may say, my own opinion has always been that we should have

"been content, for a time, to use the United States lines for our all-  
 "rail-route to Manitoba, and begin our Pacific Railway at Pembina,  
 "thence to Winnipeg, and on through Manitoba and the Northwest,  
 "combining with its construction a comprehensive and attractive  
 "scheme of immigration, under which immigrants would be assured of  
 "employment and land—employment first, and land afterwards. The  
 "lands retained by the Government in the Northwest, owing to the  
 "~~settlements of adjoining lands would have been enhanced in value,~~  
 "~~and their sale would have provided funds to aid in extending the~~  
 "railway as required, without overburdening the Dominion Exchequer.  
 "In this way the Canadian Pacific Railway east of the Rocky Moun-  
 "tains could have been built as fast as required, for very little money,  
 "and our prairie country would have become quickly peopled."

The Canadian Pacific Railway is now very nearly complete, and where there should be ten settlers within the Province there is scarcely one. Why? Because the road has been built with a rush to suit the policy of the Dominion and the Empire, and carries immigrants away past the Province; and instead of being built by Canadians or Englishmen, or intending settlers, the whole prairie sections were built by an American Company, who, as much as possible, brought all their supplies and men from the United States, the greater part of those employed on the construction of the road were of the race of TRAMPS, who worked a few months, got a hundred dollars or so in pocket, and at once left the country. Where, then, is the vast immigration that was to have been secured by the construction of this road? We are not so wanting in common sense as not to see and understand the inestimable value of this great National and Military Highway, to the Empire of Great Britain, and the great necessity there is, for its being speedily completed from ocean to ocean. It is Her shortest road to the whole of Her grand Colonial Empire. It renders Her independent of all foreign powers, for the transport of Her mails, to the Cape, to China, Japan, Australia, and to Her West India Colonies. By it she can mass her troops on the Pacific Coast, within 18 to 20 days from London, instead of taking from 60 to 90 days, via Cape Horn. By it she can secure the commerce of the world,

and carry the wealth of all Nations, in Her own ships, through Her own territory, under Her own flag, without being obliged to pay toll or royalty to any power or people on earth. Commanding the Canadian Pacific, and the Hudson's Bay Railway, and the loyal hearts of Her subjects in the great Northwest Territory, she can send half her population forth to fight for, or in defence of, the freedom of the world.—It is England's mission to civilize and liberate all mankind.—The wheat fields of Manitoba will provide bread for Her soldiers and sailors; the pasturage of the Northwest and of the Foot Hills of the Rocky Mountains will supply beef to strengthen Her warriors on land and sea; Her Operatives, Mechanics and Industrial Classes can be all employed in furnishing Her armies in the field, and her proud bulwarks sailing on the ocean. The teeming prairies of Manitoba and the great Northwest Territory, with the assistance of the Canada Pacific and Hudson's Bay Railways, will furnish them all with food; and when the world is ablaze, should men be wanting to carry the flag of freedom on to victory, let Mother England call. At the sound of Her voice, flashed across the ocean, Her sons in Canada will spring to arms, as if animated with one soul, and with their bodies will form a living rampart around that sacred flag, in whose every fold there is, and ever has been, protection for the weak and oppressed of all nations, whose flutter in the breeze means emancipation and liberty to the slave, black or white, in every corner of the Universe. That flag that has been the symbol of Honor and Justice among the nations for a thousand years; That flag that has been the symbol of victory, and glory, and mercy, amid the thunders of the battle-field and the war of the elements, on land and sea, That flag, amid the crumbling ruins of Thrones and Empires, has floated proudly still, with its mystic crosses elevated high, towards the sun, protecting the Home of the freest people under the bright canopy of Heaven. That glorious flag shall never want defenders so long as Canada has sons, sprung from British mothers, to send forth, to fight with honor, or to die with glory, in defence of the emblem of universal liberty. The Canada Pacific and Hudson's Bay Railways may

yet consolidate and Confederate the British Empire. France may cut a canal across the American continent at a cost of countless millions, and have to contend with other nations for the use of it. The sands of the desert may once more blow like snow clouds over the place where the Suez Canal once was; yet, so long as the British Empire is possessed of the Canadian Pacific Railway across the great American continent, running through British territory, peopled by contented and Loyal subjects of the Empire, from ocean to ocean, she can bid defiance to the world. But to make this great National Highway the priceless boon it ought to be to the Empire, it must continue to be on British territory, peopled by contented and Loyal British subjects. We say, from our hearts, the people of this central part of the Dominion are loyal to the core, and it will not be their fault should they ever become otherwise. It is better that the Empire should be informed at once, however, that the people of this country are not a contented people; on the contrary, that they are a very discontented, though loyal people, and in appealing to the British Throne, they prove their loyalty, in that it teaches them to look for justice from its fountain-head, instead of being goaded into inconsiderate action, which might seriously imperil, or even lead to the destruction, of Imperial interests.

When the Dominion of Canada entered into the contract for the construction of the Pacific Railway, with the present Company, the price agreed on between the parties was \$25,000,000 and 25,000,000 of acres of land. Upon these conditions the road was to have been completed, all the portions of the road already, at that time, completed and under construction, were also to be handed over completed to the Company. Now, by looking at the annual receipts from Customs, Excise and Public Lands, it will be seen that Manitoba has actually been paying the interest on the whole amount of the cash bonus allowed to the Company under their contract, while the Province of Manitoba should, in all fairness, be charged with the cost of that part of the road that is within her

own boundaries, only. Large sums of money have, since the first contract, been voted by the Parliament of Canada, to assist the Company in the construction of the Pacific Railway. A very large proportion of the money so voted has been expended in constructing roads, and in the purchase of competing lines and branches in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, fifteen hundred to two thousand miles away to the east of Manitoba. And yet we are told all this is being done to open up Manitoba and the Northwest Territory to settlement! This kind of loud stump argument will not bear the scrutiny of common sense and reason. Manitoba is, and always was, prepared to stand her fair share of the cost of the Canada Pacific Railway. But she is not prepared, nor will she ever consent, to be sacrificed altogether, to the selfish policy of the Dominion Government.

To show some of the great inconsistencies with which Manitoba has been treated, in the pretended arrangement recently entered into between the Dominion and Hon. John Norquay, altogether unauthorized by the people of the Province, we will only state the following facts: The Dominion of Canada asks Manitoba to accept \$100,000 per year, in full satisfaction and payment for the usurpation of Manitoba's 69,000,000 of acres of Public Lands, including Mines and Forests.

BRITISH COLUMBIA, on entering into Confederation, made a special condition that, within ten years from the date (1871) a Transcontinental Railway should be constructed, at the cost of the Dominion, to unite her with the Eastern Provinces; and was further allowed by the Dominion \$100,000 a year, in perpetuity, for a belt of 40 miles across her territory, required for the construction of the railway; and the belt so purchased is not arable land, but very mountainous and unproductive, save in timber.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, with a total area of 1,365,120 acres—not equal to one of Manitoba's Electoral Districts, there are 31 of those districts in Manitoba, and they average 2,200,000 acres each—was allowed \$800,000 in lieu of Public Lands! and she never possessed one acre of land, it was altogether divided up among certain

individuals and companies, who owned the land of the Island and it generally required a British regiment to try and compel the payment of the rents, charged to the tillers of the soil, by the owners; in fact, it was a kind of miniature Ireland, always at war with the Landlords. If the Public Lands of Manitoba were paid for by the Dominion at the value given to Prince-Edward Island—for the 1,365,120 acres of land, that did not belong to the colony—Manitoba would be in receipt of interest at 5 per cent. on about \$30,000,000; OR A REVENUE PER ANNUM OF \$1,500,00, after making allowance for the Hudson's Bay Reserves, the School Lands, the Half-Breed Reserves, and the portion of the Canada Pacific Railway grant of Public Lands, within the Province. This is calculating the value of the land at about 60 cents per acre, about the same value paid to Prince Edward Island, to buy off the Landlords—and is a very low estimate, indeed, when we consider that land is held by the Dominion Government at from \$2 to \$5 per acre, in the Province of Manitoba, and certainly the magnificent arable land—black and rich—of Manitoba is, or ought to be, as valuable as any other land in the Dominion.

QUEBEC,—formerly Lower Canada,—from the time of the first settlement under the French, had some of the land subject to the "Feudal Laws" of France; and by the Treaty of Paris (1763) these laws were continued after the conquest, and were in full force up to 1855, when the Signoreal Tenure Act of the Province of Canada was passed, by which the manorial claims of the Lords of the Manor were purchased or commuted at a cost of \$5,000,000, to give the farmers of the country a clear title, and to release them from serfdom. These signorial titles only extended over a comparatively small part of the Province.

ONTARIO,—formerly Upper Canada,—not having any manorial titles within her boundaries, had to be compensated for the expenditure incurred in purchasing the titles of the Signeurs of Quebec, and consequently got \$5,000,000 also, with which to improve Her municipalities. So that the Dominion has paid \$10,000,000 for the Public Lands

in Ontario and Quebec, and yet all the Lands, Mines and Forests within those Provinces, belong to the Provinces, and the Dominion does not claim any jurisdiction over their Public Lands. Manitoba to-day is paying more than a fair share of the interest on that \$10,000,000, which, at Confederation, was assumed as a Dominion debt.

Is it not strange, when we are so often told, that the Dominion bought the Northwest Territory for \$1,500,000, we never hear a word about the \$10,000,000 paid to, and for Ontario and Quebec? Want of good faith and candour is the most prominent characteristic in all the dealings of the Federal Government with us. Could we once secure an honest hearing and consideration of our case, we feel certain that the result would be satisfactory, and eventually the British Empire would profit largely through our prosperity and happiness, which would be the natural and infallible result, of the Province of Manitoba and the Northwest Territory, being fairly and equitably treated by the Dominion.

Our last demand is, That a reasonable modification of the Protective Tariff shall be made in favor of Manitoba, on such articles as are of necessity to farmers and settlers in a new country, the taxes on which are now excessive and a great hardship to the people.

We therefore feel, that, instead of any longer agitating the question of "MANITOBA RIGHTS," here; only to find ourselves again put off by the shuffling tricks of Party politicians, or to be basely betrayed by Party Tools, who do not hesitate to sacrifice the country to their personal profit or advantage, our proper course is to ask Her Majesty's intervention in our behalf. We now do this, and Humbly and Loyally approach Her Most Gracious Majesty, as Her subjects ought to approach Her, with confidence in Her justice and with love and loyalty towards Her person and Throne, and we Humbly petition Her Most Gracious Majesty to cause our demands to be honestly investigated, and impartially considered; and that justice be done us.

We believe we are taking the proper and constitutional course in thus petitioning Her Majesty, for the redress of our grievances,



and we will not be deterred from that course by any cry of disloyalty that may be howled at us by any political party, or by a Slavish and Mercenary Party Press. We are British subjects only in this movement. We belong to no political party. Our object is to secure our rights as British subjects, and we take the constitutional means, which is Hallowed and rendered venerable, by time and custom, in the British nation, of securing that object.

King Henry VIII., on being told that his subjects in Yorkshire were in arms against him, said : "That they ought not to have rebell'd, but to have apply'd themselves to him by Petition."

King James I., in one of his proclamations, declared : "That it was the right of his subjects to make their immediate Addressés to him by Petition. . . . That his own, and the ears of his Privy Council, did still continue open to the just complaints of his people." And King Charles I., by his Declaration in 1644, declared his "Royal will and pleasure, that all his loving subjects, who had any just cause to present, or complain of any grievances, might freely address themselves, by their humble Petitions, to His Sacred Majesty, who would graciously hear their complaints."

Lord Chief Justice Hobbard says : "Access to the Sovereign must not be shut up in case of the Subjects' Distress."

On the 20th of October 1680—in the reign of King Charles II.—the Commons Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, "That it is, and ever hath been, the undoubted Right of the Subjects of England, to Petition the King for the calling and sitting of Parliaments, and REDRESSING GRIEVANCES. RESOLVED, That to traduce such petitioning as a Violation of Duty; and to represent it to His Majesty as tumultuous and seditious, is to betray the Liberty of the Subject, and contributes to the design of subverting the ancient legal Constitution of this Kingdom, and introducing arbitrary power."

We might fill a volume with proofs such as we have cited, to

show that the right of Petition to Her Majesty, for the redress of grievances, is sacred; has its foundation beneath the Throne of England, and is the key-stone of the British Constitution.

Her Majesty's loyal subjects in Manitoba and the Northwest Territory, do not require to be reminded of what King Henry VIII. told his rebellious subjects in Yorkshire; they know their duty, and are confident that, in Her Majesty's universally acknowledged sense of justice, their interests will be safe, and that their grievances—if they are well founded—will be remedied, and that their demands—if just and Constitutional—will be granted. This is the feeling that dictated to them their present line of action, and they are confident, that their loyal faith in Her Majesty's wisdom and justice, will not be disappointed; When, at the foot of Her Throne,—in all humility, and loyalty and with the faith and confidence that becomes subjects of Her Majesty—They pray for British justice, at the source of Britain's Honor, Virtue and Truth.

AND AS, IN DUTY BOUND, HER MAJESTY'S HUMBLE PETITIONERS WILL EVER PRAY.

HENRY J. CLARKE, Q. C.,

ALEX. FLEMING, M. D.,

GEO. PURVIS,

Committee,

For The Manitoba and Northwest Farmers' Union

WINNIPEG, Manitoba, May 25th, 1885.

